

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

CONTENTS FOR JUNE, 1923

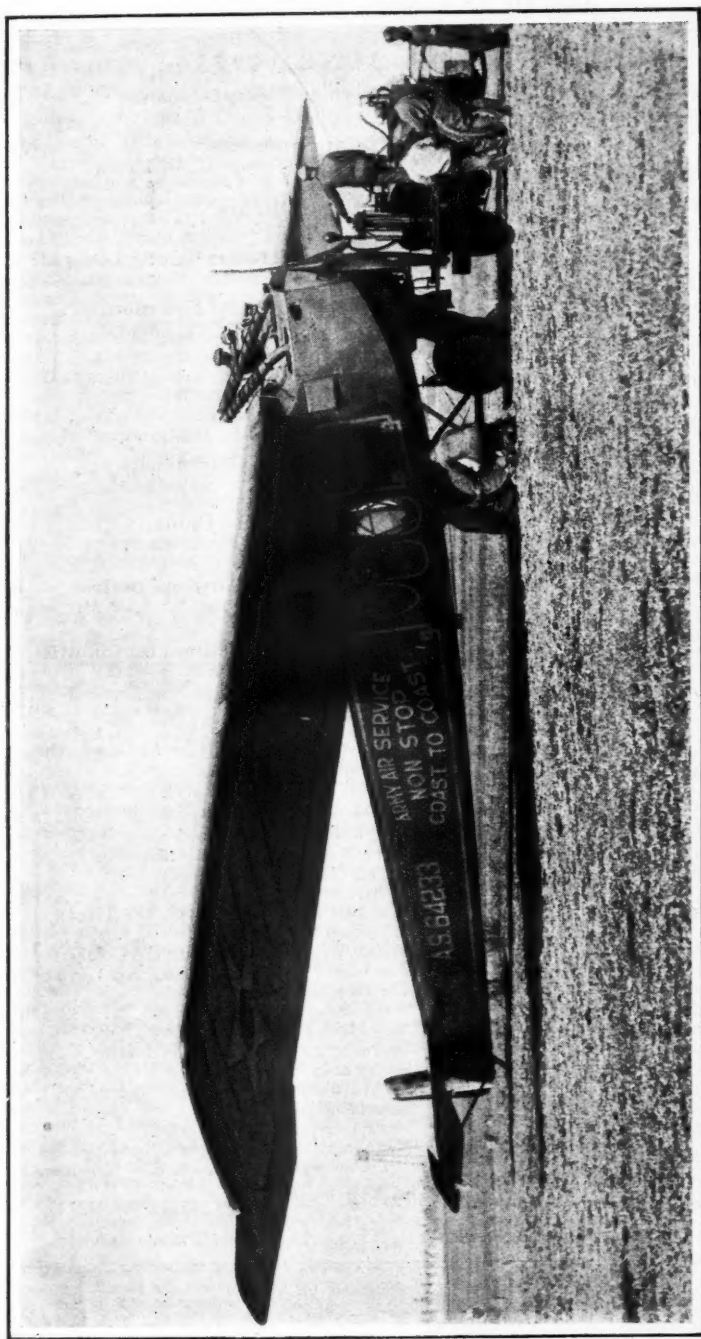
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TERMS:—Issued monthly, 35 cents a number, \$4.00 a year in advance in the United States and Canada. Elsewhere \$5.00. Entered at New York Post-office as second-class matter. Entered as second-class matter at the Post-office Department, Ottawa, Canada. Subscribers may remit to us by post-office or express money orders, or by bank checks, drafts, or registered letters. Money in letters is sent at sender's risk. Renew as early as possible in order to avoid a break in the receipt of the numbers. Bookdealers, Postmasters and Newsdealers receive subscriptions.

THE REVIEW OF REVIEWS CORP., 30 Irving Place, New York

Pacific Coast Office, 327 Van Nuys Bldg., Los Angeles, Calif.

ALBERT SHAW, Pres. CHAS. D. LANIER, Sec. and Treas.



**THE UNITED STATES ARMY AIRPLANE WHICH CROSSED THE CONTINENT FROM NEW YORK TO SAN DIEGO
IN A SINGLE, NON-STOP FLIGHT**

(Lieutenants Oakley G. Kelly and John A. Macready piloted this Fokker metal monoplane in its record-breaking flight of 2700 miles. The machine left New York at 1:37 in the afternoon of May 2 and landed at San Diego at 12:27 the following afternoon. Allowing for three hours difference in time, the flight required ten minutes less than twenty-seven hours. It exceeded by nearly a thousand miles the cross-Atlantic flight of Captain Alcock and Lieutenant Brown in 1919. The plane carried 780 gallons of gasoline, 32 gallons of oil, and 25 gallons of water—weighing, with its crew and cargo, more than 5000 pounds)

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

VOL. LXVII

NEW YORK, JUNE, 1923

No. 6

THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

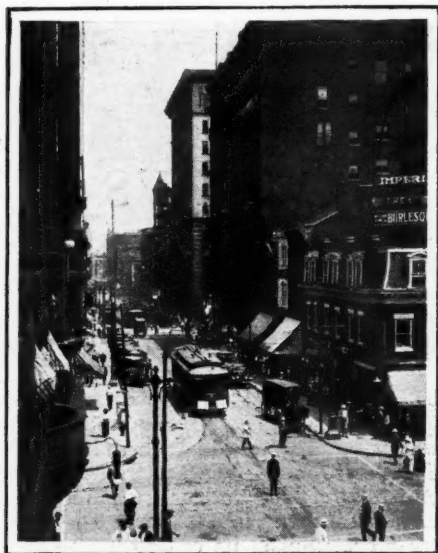
The President's Tour as Arranged President Harding's summer plans, as revised, have been received with commendation in all quarters. The proposed speech-making tour across the country has not been abandoned, but it has been wisely curtailed. It is now arranged for the President to leave Washington about June 20 and proceed by way of St. Louis, Kansas City, Colorado and Utah, to Southern California. It is understood that his program of addresses will have been carefully worked out before he leaves Washington. Although the speaking itinerary may not be absolutely rigid, and may include some less formal remarks at other places, it has been reported that there will be eight addresses, each on a separate theme, at St. Louis, Kansas City, Denver, Salt Lake City, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Portland, and Seattle. President Roosevelt found it worth while to prepare a series of speeches in the White House, to be afterwards delivered on a western tour, each one emphasizing a distinct topic of current public importance. Some other Presidents in their speechmaking "swings around the circle" have at one time or another followed this plan, although it has not been usual. President Harding is a veteran newspaper man, and he is well aware that those who read presidential speeches in the press are a thousand times as numerous as those who hear them delivered.

Our Best-Informed American In all of the leading papers of the United States, each of the President's discourses will be well presented. This series of addresses will come at a good time, because the nine months' adjournment of Congress will be just half-way through, and the country will

be ready for a general survey of public questions from the standpoint of the man who is in a position to be best informed. Few people realize to what an extent the business of a President consists in receiving and disseminating information. The country proceeds upon its collective activities, governmental and otherwise, as it is impelled by the force of public opinion. There is much less blindness of prejudice and partisanship than in former periods, and the appeal to reason is necessary in order to convince the community and secure advance along desired lines. There is no personage, official or otherwise—not even the most active and intelligent journalist—who is as well placed as the President of the United States for obtaining the most essential information about public affairs. The responsibilities of his office tend to broaden his judgment, while his opportunities for growth in wisdom and for grasp of vital policies have, in almost every instance, resulted in making the President of the period a more valuable public servant after a year or two of the training and discipline to which the office subjects its incumbent.

From Seattle to Alaska

The country will be particularly interested in having Mr. Harding's up-to-date observations on the Government's relation to agriculture and commerce; on current railroad problems; on our ocean trade and merchant marine; on the Government's tax and revenue situation; on the budget system; on our Pan-American developments; on the results of the Washington armament conference; on the World Court, the League of Nations, and our relations with Europe; on America's position in the



IN THE HEART OF THE BUSINESS CENTER OF ST. LOUIS—FIRST STOP OF THE PRESIDENT ON HIS WAY TO ALASKA.

Pacific, and on various other topics with which we are concerned. The President had hoped to go to Alaska last year, but he was detained at Washington. It is his present plan to take steamer at Seattle for Alaskan waters, and to spend some days in the enjoyment of the far Northern summer and the direct study of the public problems which Alaska presents. It is announced that Secretaries Wallace, Work, and Hoover, of the Departments of Agriculture, the Interior, and Commerce, will accompany the President on the entire summer journey. This should be greatly to the advantage of Alaska, inasmuch as each of these three departments is importantly concerned with Alaskan affairs. The governing of Alaska through scattered bureaus at Washington in several different departments has been subjected to increasing criticism in recent years. The official group who will visit Alaska in July has no bureaucratic predilections. After conferences with the Hon. Scott Bone, Alaska's capable Governor, and with other experienced officials, it is likely enough that important conclusions may be reached which the President will be prepared to recommend to Congress next December for the betterment of Alaska's governmental conditions, and the opening of its resources.

*Then by Sea
to Panama
and Porto Rico*

It had been originally planned for the President to return from Alaska through Montana, the Dakotas, and Minnesota, and to make addresses in a number of States of the Northwest and cities of the Upper Mississippi Valley. Such speeches may yet be made, on a brief tour in the autumn. According to the revised plan, the President will sail from Alaska down the Pacific Coast to the Panama Canal, where he and his official party will confer with Governor Morrow. It is intimated that a stop may be made at Porto Rico on the homeward voyage from Panama. Such a visit would be most timely and could but have excellent results. The people of Porto Rico are greatly pleased with Mr. Harding's appointment of Judge Towner as Governor, and they would undoubtedly give the presidential party an impressive welcome. A visit to Porto Rico at this time would further convince the people of the island that the Government at Washington is appreciative of the fact that they are American citizens in the full sense, and that their progress and prosperity are to be more than ever a matter of continental concern.

*Maturing of
Our Western
Cities*

Taking the President's proposed trip as a whole, it would be hard to imagine a more delightful combination of a thoroughly useful and timely tour of official duty with an inspiring and restful vacation experience. Not to mention many other places that will come under the President's eye, one may note the eight splendid American cities, with their recent record of remarkable progress, where the President is expected to make addresses. St. Louis, which was incorporated exactly a hundred years ago, has now something like a million people, if its suburbs are included, and is a center of prosperous industry and commerce, with much beauty of architecture and with high standards in education and in all civic appointments. Kansas City, a much younger metropolis, is famous for its enterprise and for its aggressive courage as a community of perhaps half a million people. Denver, with its altitude of more than five thousand feet above sea level, noted throughout the world for its healthful climate and the inspiring scenery which surrounds it, is the capital of a State of vast resources; and it continues to grow



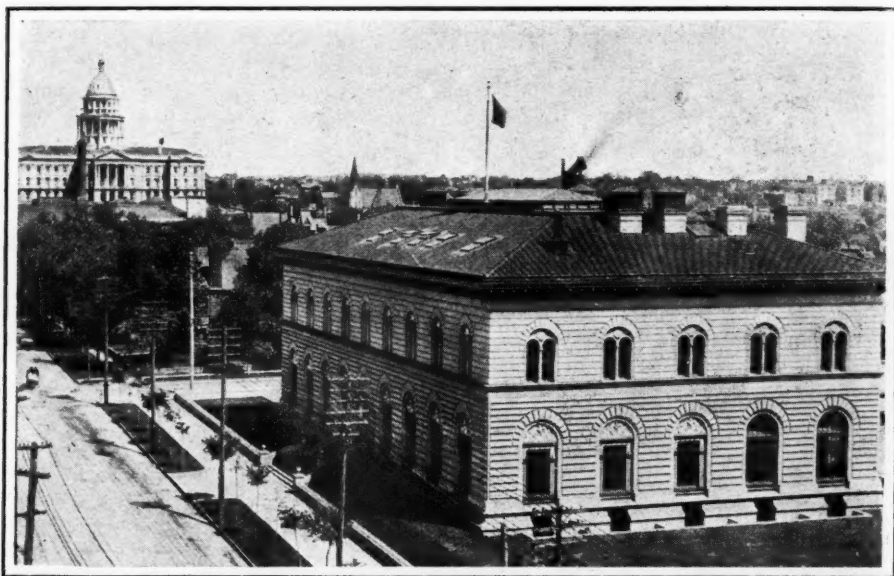
PRESIDENT HARDING WORKING AGAIN IN A NEWSPAPER OFFICE WHILE IN NEW YORK TO ADDRESS THE MEMBERS OF THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

(The President "made up" the editorial page of the *New York Tribune* early in the morning of April 25, at the great new uptown plant of that paper. In this group, Odgen Mills, editor of the *Tribune*, stands between the President and Mrs. Harding.)

steadily in all that makes a city beautiful and desirable. It is not as large as Kansas City, but its population was well beyond a quarter of a million at the last census, and continued building operations show rapid growth. Salt Lake City, situated in a beautiful basin surrounded by mountains, is about half as populous as Denver and is making steady improvement in its streets, parks, and schools. The capitals of our Mountain States must expect a somewhat slower development than some of their contemporaries of the Mississippi Valley; but they have already evolved, from somewhat ragged beginnings as frontier towns, into well-appointed modern cities in which the people are supplied with every facility that civic enterprise can furnish.

Expansion Around Los Angeles As for Los Angeles, and the regions of which it is the center, its recent progress almost baffles description. It must be seen yearly to be fully comprehended, so rapidly does it expand. With the communities growing up in the immediate vicinity, what we may

call the Greater Los Angeles will soon comprise a population of a million. It is no longer merely a Mecca of climate seekers and winter visitors. Homebuilding goes on at a pace almost unrivalled elsewhere, inspired by a charming taste in architecture and a universal love of trees and flowers. So dense is the traffic in the central streets that the problem has become acute. In one direction is Pasadena—the most beautiful of all American suburbs—a district with perhaps 100,000 people. In another direction is Hollywood, with its motion-picture industry advancing along hopeful, enthusiastic, and serious lines. In still other directions are the great oil developments like Signal Hill; while along the Pacific at Long Beach, San Pedro (the port of Los Angeles) and northward to Santa Monica, a quick tour in an automobile discovers coastwise communities that will in the near future aggregate 200,000 people. All this development seems to rest upon solid foundations, with advantages and opportunities that are steadily increasing in the assurances they give.



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A VIEW OF THE CITY OF DENVER, WITH THE UNITED STATES MINT IN THE FOREGROUND AND THE STATE CAPITOL IN THE DISTANCE

Four Great Cities of the Pacific Coast

The progress of San Francisco, meanwhile, is in no way retarded by the magic rise of Southern California, with its great concentration at Los Angeles, and with the southernmost communities of which San Diego is most prominent. San Francisco has its own ample reasons for a development which

is proceeding upon lines of high intelligence and efficiency. It also is destined in the near future to have a million people, if one includes the cities and communities which lie within its suburban zones. Portland, Oregon, fully maintains its long established reputation for financial strength, business conservatism, and representative character as a thoroughly American municipality. It goes steadily forward and has greatly improved since the period of its world's fair that celebrated the Lewis and Clark exploration and the opening of the Oregon Territory. It has perhaps 300,000 people, while the State of Oregon, which had much less than 100,000 people in 1870, will now soon have fully a million. Seattle is another of the great and irrepressible municipalities of the country which reflects in its progress the immensity of our national resources and the economic advance of a nation that is soon to number



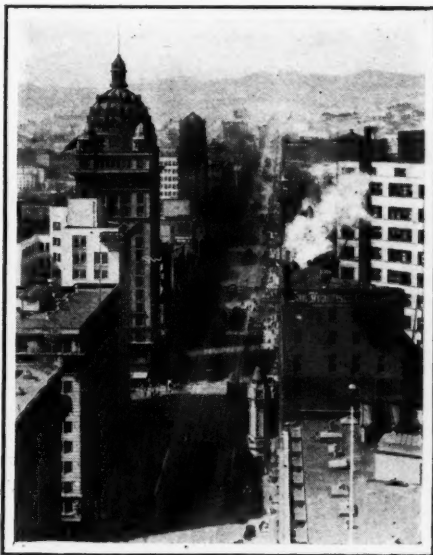
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SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH, AT THE FOOT OF THE WASATCH MOUNTAINS AND ITSELF 4200 FEET ABOVE SEA LEVEL



© Ewing Galloway

BROADWAY, LOS ANGELES



© Ewing Galloway

MARKET STREET, SAN FRANCISCO

BUSINESS DISTRICTS IN THE TWO GREAT CITIES OF CALIFORNIA

120,000,000. Like San Francisco, Seattle has a world-wide commercial outlook, and builds its future prospects not only upon the development of our own Northwest, but

upon the growth of Western Canada, the further opening up of Alaska, and the enlarging trade between the United States and the populations of the Orient.



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SECOND AVENUE, MAIN BUSINESS STREET



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THE CITY'S 42-STORY SKYSCRAPER

TWO VIEWS OF THE MODERN CITY OF SEATTLE, WASHINGTON



THE MEMORIAL MUSEUM IN GOLDEN GATE PARK, SAN FRANCISCO

*From Seward
to San Juan*

Besides the glimpses of proud cities like these through which he will pass and whose people he will address, Mr. Harding in June will see great stretches of wheat and corn lands, of grazing plains, of national forests, and of rugged scenery. Alaska will afford the most surprising contrasts, and the Canal Zone will add its touch of almost bewildering variety as the President turns from the brief, luxuriant summer of the far North to the semi-tropical scenes of the Isthmus. When he pauses at Porto Rico, he will find another beautiful city flying the American flag as he enters the harbor of San Juan. Here, in a delightful climate, and with beautiful surroundings of coastal plain and interior highlands, is a city which was founded fully a hundred years before the English settlements in Virginia or Massachusetts. During the twenty-five years of the close relationship of Porto Rico to the United States, the developments have been remarkable in many aspects; but what has been accomplished is only the beginning of what ought to be done during the next two or three decades.

*A Well-Dis-
posed Country*

The President will find little to disturb his serenity as he moves from the Potomac to the Pacific Coast, inspects Alaska, traverses the Isthmian Canal, and sees at close range

the orderly progress which Porto Rico is making. The Western farmers have had hard trials and great tribulations since the collapse of their European markets. But they are recovering steadily, even if slowly, and have regained their courage. The President can point to statesmanlike efforts on a large scale, directed from Washington, to put the credit resources of the country behind agricultural production and marketing. He will find a friendly hearing for his arguments in favor of our official membership in the World Court. He will not find a citizenship that is eager at the present time to enter into the specific combination that is designated as the "League of Nations." But what he will find is a country fully ready to participate in every movement for the abolition of war and the harmony of nations that can be shown to be practicable. It has not been made clear to the American people that the existing League of Nations has been doing any of those things of a major kind or of an essential character which were supposed to be the sole reason for its existence.

*Sentiment Fa-
vors Cooperation
with Europe*

That American sentiment is moving toward plans for helping Europe to recover, is shown in the action taken last month by the United States Chamber of Commerce. This organization considers public questions with care, and its conclusions are always

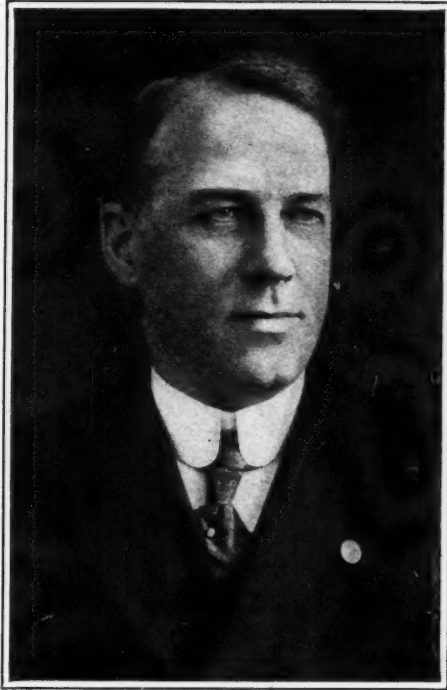
worth noting. Many leading American business men have recently studied European conditions on the ground, among them being Mr. Julius H. Barnes, who has been reelected President of the Chamber of Commerce. At a fairly representative meeting in New York attended by several thousand delegates from all sections, resolutions were adopted on May 10, the first of which calls for a general economic conference to adjust European conditions. America's adhesion to the Court of International Justice is endorsed. It is recommended that the present immigration system be modified by adding to the 3 per cent. quotas a further possible 2 per cent. upon a selective basis. Under this 2 per cent. we might encourage especially desirable immigrants from the British Isles and elsewhere in Western Europe.

*Business Men
and Public
Questions*

The Chamber has organized a transportation conference and is working for further improvement in the railroad situation. It opposes the operation of the merchant marine by the Government, and hopes that a plan may be evolved by which private shipping enterprise may succeed in keeping the American flag on the ocean. The Chamber is eminently right in demanding improvements in income tax administration to the end that "a taxpayer may have a prompt and conclusive settlement of tax liability." The Chamber is entering upon an extended inquiry into the subject of federal taxation with a view to recommending extensive changes. There are valuable resolutions which deal with waterways, flood control, reclamation of waste lands, reform of the coal industry, and various other topics. The work of the Chamber is growingly important in making it clear to hundreds of thousands of men engaged in business that it is now their duty not only to be interested in public questions, but to help in directing a great body of public opinion toward wise policies.

*Progress in
Our Own
Hemisphere*

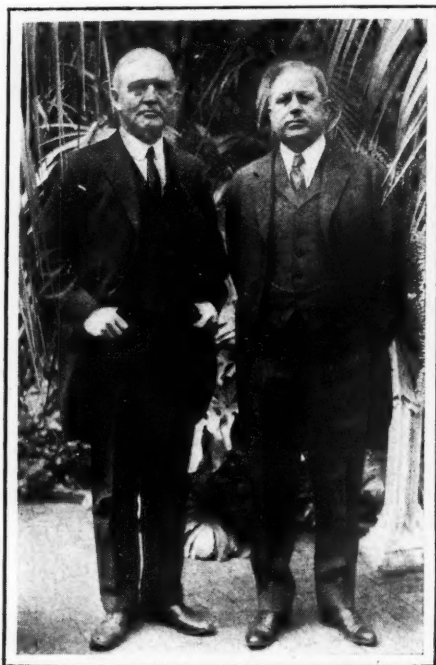
There is nothing in the reports from the work of the Pan-American Conference at Santiago, Chile, which is of a startling character, but much that is reassuring as regards the growth of friendly relations among the republics of the Western world, and many indications of their advancement in civilization. Dr. George E. Vincent, of New York, as chairman of the Hygiene Committee, led



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MR. JULIUS H. BARNES, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

in the adoption of measures for the better conquest of epidemic diseases, while agreements dealing with commerce and education were made and plans were adopted looking to the codification of American international law by the congress of jurists who will meet at Rio de Janeiro in 1925. This is a step of the highest importance as bearing upon the work of international courts, and upon the general cause of justice and peace. Certain differences of opinion regarding armaments were not settled at Santiago, but Argentina, Brazil, and Chile will confer among themselves. A strong tendency was shown toward the adoption of a general Pan-American treaty providing for the investigation of differences before war could be entered upon. The problem of liquor exports was discussed, although not settled. The Monroe Doctrine was discussed with a better understanding and a more cordial approval than ever before. Chile took the lead in endeavoring to secure naval limitation among Latin-American powers. The intent was to bring Argentina, Brazil, and Chile to terms of equality.



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THE TWO AMERICAN COMMISSIONERS AT MEXICO CITY. HON. JOHN BARTON PAYNE (left) AND HON. CHARLES B. WARREN

The Joint Commission at Mexico City The most hopeful indication of full harmony in the Western Hemisphere is that which has been afforded by the appointment of two distinguished Americans to confer at Mexico City with two eminent appointees of the Mexican Government with a view to settling all outstanding differences preparatory to full recognition of the Obregon administration by the United States. Hon. Charles Beecher Warren, who has recently served as Ambassador to Japan, is a Michigan lawyer who has had large experience in dealing with international disputes, while Hon. John Barton Payne is an equally eminent lawyer of Chicago, who was chairman of the Shipping Board for a time and Secretary of the Interior during President Wilson's last year. The Mexican members of this joint commission are Señors Ramon Ross and Fernando Gonzales Rea, both of whom are of excellent standing and in close personal relations with President Obregon. Señor Ross is director of Public Welfare in Mexico, while Señor Rea is a lawyer who served at one time in the Department

of Justice and has been in the United States in connection with Mexican financial commissions.

Mexico's Criticized Land Policy

Among the difficult questions to be adjusted is that of expropriation of lands under the new agrarian laws. The Government of Mexico is proceeding to acquire a great many large private holdings, some of them comprising several millions of acres, in order to sub-divide them and bring about a larger distribution of Mexico's soil among the Mexican people. It is hard to believe that this policy is not sound in principle and in accordance with the best modern tendencies. The British policy, in taking over great estates in Ireland and selling them to the tenant farmers, has made careful provision for an equitable ascertainment of values. The Mexican methods—it is complained by the holders of great land grants—are purely arbitrary, and compensation in many cases amounts to only a small fraction of the real worth of the property. It ought to be possible to agree upon a method that would protect the Mexican Government from the charge of confiscation. Undoubtedly Mexico would be benefited by a resumption of intimate official and business relations with the United States. American investments in Mexico on the other hand are very large, and it is not unreasonable that efforts should be made to recoup in part the stupendous losses which have been incurred during the years that have elapsed since the days of President Diaz.

Curzon's Note to Russia

The attempts that the British Government have made to do business with Russia and Germany have not been crowned with marked success; and Lord Curzon at the head of the British Foreign Office has been engaged in penning the most drastic communications of a diplomatic sort that have ruffled the waters of European diplomacy since Curzon's castigation of the Turks last year. This distinguished foreign minister is gifted with the power to produce exasperation, to a degree that places him in a rank by himself. The text of the note to the Soviet Government was made public on May 8. Its accusations are numerous and specific. Russia has been breaking agreements about anti-British propaganda work in Persia, Afghanistan, and India. It has interfered with British shipping, and has offended



SOVIET RUSSIA'S OFFICIAL GROUP OBSERVING THE LAUSANNE CONFERENCE LAST MONTH
(At the left is Vaslav Vorovsky, whose assassination on May 10 has become a matter of diplomatic controversy)

foreign sentiment by prosecution of religious dignitaries. The Curzon note demanded a satisfactory reply within ten days, and was regarded in Moscow as an ultimatum looking to a break in existing relations and an end of the trade agreement.

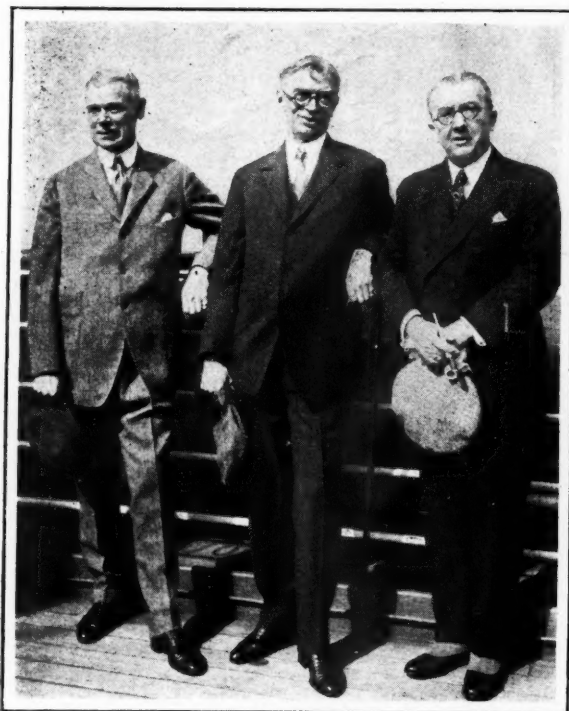
*Moscow's
Furious
Resentment*

The greatest demonstrations that Moscow has witnessed in recent years were made against what was universally regarded as British threats. Immediately following the Curzon note came the assassination of the leading Soviet envoy at Lausanne. The assassin had served in so-called "White" Russian armies, and claimed that he was actuated by personal and family wrongs. But the Russian authorities have insisted that the British Government was somehow responsible for the act, with Switzerland also implicated. Trotzky seized the moment of opportunity to appear before a great audience in one of his typical harangues, intended to strengthen the hold of the Soviet oligarchy upon Russian popular sentiment. Trotzky claimed that he desired peace, but talked war in boastful and menacing terms. Meanwhile, Krassin, who had originally negotiated and organized the existing trade arrangement with England,

started by airplane for London to take charge there of Russian interests. One of the principal complaints set forth in the Curzon note had to do with the seizing of a fishing trawler off the Russian coast. Russia had established the twelve-mile limit for protection of her domestic fisheries, and the British were claiming the right to fish outside of a three-mile limit. Litvinoff maintains that Russia has the legal right to fix the twelve-mile zone, and declares that Great Britain herself has established a still wider fishing belt around Ceylon. Russian sentiment in the quarrel with England seems more unanimous by far than British sentiment. The London *Times* supported Curzon, but the Liberals were inclined to dissent, while the Labor party has been loud and demonstrative in expressing its disapproval of the peremptory character of the note, with its suggestion of hostilities.

*Germany's
Rejected
Proposals*

Mr. Simonds, in the present number of THE REVIEW OF REVIEWS, presents a thorough explanation of the situation in the Ruhr, as more completely deadlocked than before by the recent German proposals and their rejection. Our Ambassador to Germany, who arrived at New York on a vacation on



© Keystone View

**THREE AMERICAN AMBASSADORS WHO CAME FROM EUROPE
ON THE SAME SHIP LAST MONTH**

(Left to right, are: Hon. Cyrus E. Woods, who is to be transferred from Madrid to Tokio, Ambassador George Harvey, and Hon. Alanson B. Houghton, Ambassador at Berlin)

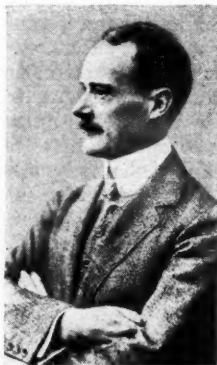
May 8 on the same ship with our Ambassador at London and Mr. Woods, who has retired from the Madrid post to become Ambassador to Japan, declares his belief that the German offer was made in good faith as a step toward a solution. There seems, however, to be no American opinion that would support the German proposals. Mr. Baruch, who is as nearly impartial as any American who has devoted great study to the subject of economic settlements, believes that Germany could pay \$12,500,000,000 under certain conditions which would give assurance of peace and security. Mr. Baruch favors an economic conference, as do the majority of thoughtful American business men. We are publishing in this number an article by Professor J. Laurence Laughlin, widely recognized as an economic authority and an expert in banking, currency, and public finance, who sets forth the difficult position in which France has been placed in consequence of the war. Professor Laughlin shows in figures and in

some detail what Mr. Simonds sets forth in general argument; namely, that the French financial situation absolutely requires large reparation payments from Germany.

*The
Deadlock
in the Ruhr*

At the bottom of the whole situation is the failure of the Germans to see facts as the rest of the world sees them. On May 13 there was made public Great Britain's reply to Germany's recent reparation offer. This note of Lord Curzon's is wholly convincing in its arguments, while infused with that tone of chiding and reproach that is so characteristic. The Italian reply is equally conclusive, but far less accusatory in its language. The German resistance to French methods in the Ruhr, which has taken every form except that of open warfare, shows no signs of abatement. If the situation thus created is costly and difficult for France, it would seem to be still more injurious to Germany in the industrial paralysis it has been producing. French

court martials have passed severe sentences upon a number of manufacturers and business leaders who have been found guilty of encouraging strikes and passive resistance.



**HERR KRUPP VON BOHLEN, WHO HAS BEEN
SENTENCED BY FRENCH
COURT MARTIAL**

Conspicuous among numerous sentences passed upon prominent men is that of fifteen years' imprisonment in the case of Herr Krupp von Bohlen, head of the great Krupp works, who was found guilty of inciting riots and disorder when the French troops were requisitioning certain automobiles and trucks. The riots

had cost several lives; and one of the ring-leaders in a dynamiting plot has been sentenced to death. The French claim on their part that they are showing all due consideration, and that it is necessary to deal sharply with open disorder in order to keep the situation from becoming worse.

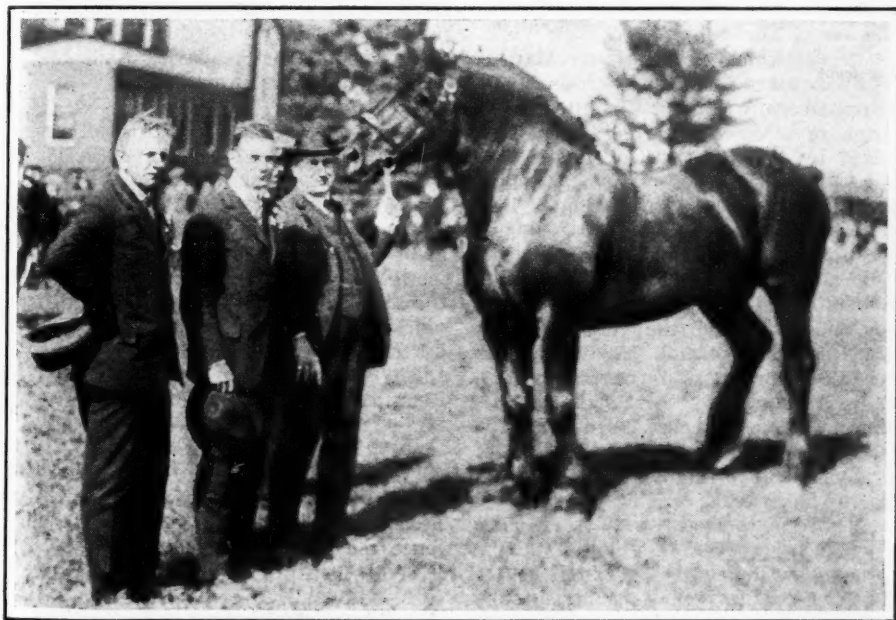
*New England's
American
Spirit*

We have heard so much in recent years about the alienization of New England that it is cheering to find evidence from time to time that the American spirit still dominates the region where it was most sedulously nourished in earlier days. It is quite true that the industries of the great manufacturing towns, textile and otherwise, are largely manned and "womanned" by people of foreign birth or recent foreign ancestry. And it is also true that intensive agriculture in such localities as the Connecticut Valley is carried on by Polish workers and other foreigners to a notable extent. New England influence has spread across the country and helped to make a score of thriving new commonwealths; but it would seem to be within bounds to say that New England is steadily making

Yankees out of its new populations, and is by no means collapsing as regards the structure of civilization that has been reared through three hundred years of continuous effort. In the review of New England State affairs as set forth by the present half-dozen Governors in our February number, it was shown that New England is dealing with its problems of to-day in a spirit that is not alien to its best traditions.

*Massachusetts
Promoting
Agriculture*

Although the New England States have become so highly developed in manufacturing, they are newly awakened to the value of their own agriculture, and to the conserving of their forests and out-of-door resources. No more hopeful event can be discovered in the recent news from New England than the story of the visit of the entire legislature of Massachusetts, which is still called the "General Court," to the State's agricultural college, located on the outskirts of Amherst. State Senators, members of the House, and other officials made up a party of two hundred, who came to inspect the work so well carried on by President Butterfield and his associates.



THE ENTIRE LEGISLATURE OF MASSACHUSETTS LAST MONTH VISITED THE STATE AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE AT AMHERST

(Left to right are, Dr. Kenyon L. Butterfield, President of the college; Hon. Frank G. Allen, President of the State Senate; and Hon. E. Loring Young, Speaker of the House)

Mr. Allen, President of the Senate, and Speaker Young, of the House, expressed the determination of the government of the State to give the agricultural college ample support. These officials were ready to say that even in agricultural education they proposed to make Massachusetts intelligence serve not merely its own region but the country as a whole and the world at large. President Butterfield admirably set forth in his address the aspirations of the institution as regards extension work throughout the State, and enlarged scientific work in research and experiment. This school, like agricultural colleges in other New England States, is also devoting itself successfully to changed conditions in the production and marketing of fruit crops, dairy products, vegetable supplies, poultry, and many other things for which the large urban populations make demand. New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey are similarly promoting the kind of education in the science and art of agriculture that is helping to revive the rural prosperity of the East, and that brings together great bodies of students, most of whom are looking to the country rather than to the city for their future fields of labor.

*The New
York
Legislature*

The legislature of New York, which adjourned on May 4, was active in its closing days and passed many bills for Governor Smith to sign or reject during the thirty days allowed by law for the Governor's final action. The Governor's important proposals to consolidate State agencies into twenty departments has been passed, but must stand the ordeal of another legislative session and then be submitted to the people. The State Senate was Democratic by a slight majority and the Assembly was under Republican control. A great number of the Governor's most urgent recommendations were passed by the Senate and defeated in the lower house. This was true of the proposed executive budget; also of the amendment to lengthen the Governor's term to four years. Highway legislation, as amended by the house, was passed. The campaign to abolish the motion picture censorship which was successful in the Senate, failed in the Assembly. Many matters of less interest outside the State were dealt with as wisely recommended by the Governor. Speaking generally, the Governor's proposals were much more

sweeping than the Assembly was disposed to approve.

*Gov. Smith's
Measures
Partly Rejected*

As against giving New York City full control of its transit facilities, it was determined by the Assembly to retain State supervision. A home-rule amendment for New York City will be voted on by the people at the fall election. The Republican house defeated the movement to make full restoration of direct primaries, and similarly defeated several other proposals for political reform that were passed by the Senate. The bill passed by the Senate on the Governor's advice permitting water power development by the State itself, was defeated in the Assembly. State aid for public health work in rural counties was passed, as was the Governor's proposal for a bond issue of \$50,000,000 to rebuild and fire-proof State institutions; but many so-called welfare measures were defeated. The period of tax exemption for new housing was extended for another year, and this extension coincides in its favorable effects with a decision of the Court of Appeals, which sustains the exemption that a lower court had pronounced invalid. The State bonus to soldiers was sustained, and a State park system was authorized. In general, many good bills were passed while many others must await future action.

*Smith and the
"Wets" in
New York*

Governor Smith had been elected with the enthusiastic backing of the "Wets," and among the early acts of the legislature was a joint resolution memorializing Congress in favor of weakening the Volstead Act. New York had several years ago enacted the so-called Mullan-Gage law, which provides for the enforcement of prohibition by the State itself in coöperation with the agents of the Federal Government. The wets had demanded the repeal of this State law, and at the end of the session they were successful. At the time of our going to press, Governor Smith had not signed this repeal, but it was generally expected that he would take that course. Since the Eighteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution is a dominant fact, it is reasonable to expect that the States should in good faith do their best to see that the prohibitory laws are enforced. If the State of New York comes short of doing its part, the country will simply insist

upon using federal agencies in New York with greater vigor than before. The New York press, which as a rule upholds law and order with intelligent regard for the public welfare, has been altogether too remiss in an apparent tendency to condone rum smuggling and bootlegging.

*Rum
Smuggling
as an Issue*

The consequence is that metropolitan opinion, which is always too much inclined to ignore the country as a whole, is quite unaware of the fact that the United States of America is not ready to hoist the wet flag, and has not the slightest intention of surrendering to the rum-smuggling fleets that have been disgracing the British and other flags off our coasts during recent months. Our State Department should not yield for a moment in its contention regarding the width of inspection zones. There is no sanctity about the so-called three-mile limit when it comes to obvious violations of the revenue laws. If American gun-running ships serving Irish rebels several years ago had assumed that they could anchor just outside the three-mile limit off the Irish coast for weeks at a time, protected by the American flag while watching opportunities to send arms and ammunition ashore, it would have been ridiculous for our Government to say that there existed such a thing as a three-mile principle which would estop interference by the British navy. The rum fleet and its operations are exceedingly well described for us in this number of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS by Mr. Welliver, whose sources of information are as good as any that could be obtained. The United States Government would be amply justified in using the Navy to break up this smuggling practice without delay or hesitation. Catching fish is a legitimate operation; and nations can readily agree as to the line to be drawn between shore fisheries and deep sea fisheries. But anchoring indefinitely off the coast of another country for the purpose of violating the revenue laws is an affair which can claim no protection from a three-mile limit, or from any other precisely defined zone.

*Also, the
Smuggling of
Immigrants*

The scarcity of common labor and the high wages paid in this country naturally stimulate the attempt to violate our immigration laws. Secretary Davis, head of the Labor Depart-

ment, whose business it is to enforce those laws, writes for us this month a remarkable article on the smuggling of Chinese workmen that has been going on, by way particularly of Cuba and Mexico. It is hard to break up such a traffic, especially as those who are promoting it are prepared to pay the pirate skippers very handsomely for the risks they run. In the nature of the case, immigration thus uninspected cannot assume very large proportions. It will be remembered that by legislation that took effect in the year 1808 the importation of African slaves to this country was prohibited. Some years later the cotton gin was invented, and a great impetus was given to the cultivation of cotton, especially in the new fields of Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana. The demand for slave labor made smuggling profitable, and thousands of slaves were brought in by way of the West Indies. Present activities in the smuggling of coolie laborers and of cargoes of bad whisky remind one strongly of earlier periods of lawlessness on the seas, when slave traders flourished and when the black flags of buccaners and pirates frequented the Spanish Main.

*The Promise
of American
Prosperity*

While American readers are not disposed to ignore European and foreign affairs, they are giving their attention to our own affairs more closely than in any previous season since 1918. It is a matter of general testimony that the country as a whole is exceedingly busy, and that there is partial if not complete recovery from the disasters of the period of sharp contraction following war-time expansion. Secretary Hoover, who has extended the methods by which the Department of Commerce obtains information and arrives at conclusions, has been expressing himself with an almost unqualified optimism regarding the prospect of a continuance of the period of prosperity upon which the United States has entered. Mr. Hoover observes that our processes of production are considerably more efficient in their results than they were ten years ago. He finds for instance that an equal number of people working in agriculture can provide food supplies, of even larger per capita quantity and value, for a consuming population that has increased perhaps 15 per cent. This would mean that, with the use of improved machinery and with higher acreage yields, the farmers are able



IN THIS PHOTOGRAPH ARE SHOWN SOME OF THE NOTEWORTHY ACHIEVEMENTS IN THE BUILDING OF WELL-APPOINTED APARTMENT HOUSES WITH PLEASANT SURROUNDINGS IN THAT PART OF GREATER NEW YORK KNOWN AS QUEENS BOROUGH, WHICH IS REACHED FROM MANHATTAN BY THE QUEENSBORO BRIDGE OVER THE EAST RIVER AND BY SUBWAY, AND WHICH IS WITHIN SIGHT OF THE TALL TOWERS IN THE CENTER OF MANHATTAN ISLAND

without any increase in the number of people employed to market a much larger total output than in the decade before the Great War. The same thing is regarded as true on the average in manufacturing; that is to say, a given amount of labor, in view of improved machinery and processes, furnishes for distribution a decidedly larger quantity of clothing, furniture and fabricated articles in general.

*Higher
Standards
of Living*

This larger total of production means higher average wages and improved standards of living. Thus Mr. Hoover advises us that we ought not to think of pre-war conditions as normal for Americans of the present and future, and says in effect that our changed standards are not to be condemned as implying unwarranted extravagance in expenditure. For the best social results, it is desirable always to find a working compromise between outlay in improved standards of living, and the need of saving and investing a part of the current income as a matter of individual safety and as a contribution toward the fund of new capital that is necessary to keep the productive forces of the country working and growing. It is obvious that we are not likely—soon or ever—to find a state of equilibrium in

markets, either for labor or for commodities, at any given time or place. There will be fluctuations, as long as there is activity. When inequalities tend to become extreme, natural laws are set in motion to produce relative "normalcy;" but it is not often that anybody discovers, in his own personal affairs or in his own line of business, that things are moving in what seems to be exactly regular fashion. Thus the favorable facts may be quite as Mr. Hoover and the other authorities declare them to be, while in certain fields of industry and trade there may be conditions that seem altogether out of focus.

*New Housing
for Families
and Business*

For several years the demand for housing accommodations in the cities and towns has been greater than the supply. Last year the building industries became active on a great scale in spite of the continued high price of materials, and the unprecedented wage scales prevailing in the various trades concerned with construction. But the attacks upon price fixing combinations in New York had favorably affected building costs, and early in 1922 the outlook seemed very favorable. Tax exemptions and other inducements served to encourage home-builders. The opening of the building

season of 1923 was auspicious, and more building permits were issued and more projects for public buildings, office and factory structures and residences were planned than in any previous springtime. But the situation became abnormal within a few weeks. In New York City and elsewhere the workmen in certain trades began to demand daily bonuses in addition to the wage scales that had been fixed by agreement; and dealers in materials began to run up prices. Where there were numerous buildings under way that had to be completed, the exactions of workers and dealers could not be successfully resisted. But where work had not yet been begun it was the part of prudence to decide upon indefinite postponement.

*Plans to
Equalize by
Postponement*

Such a movement was launched in New York at the beginning of May, following a conference of representative architects and bankers, merchants, real estate men, and capitalists. Mr. R. H. Shreve, of Carrere & Hastings a well-known firm of architects, who presided at this conference of the building interests, and who was made chairman of a "building emergency committee" that represents all interests, declared that no such condition had existed previously for twenty-five years. A member of one of the largest construction firms in the United States mentioned an instance that was representative of the crisis. His company had started a large building on February 15, paying bricklayers the regular scale of ten dollars a day. On March 30 an additional bonus of a dollar a day was exacted. On April 23 came a demand for twelve dollars a day. At a later hour of the "same day the men demanded \$13 a day, and half an hour later increased the demand to \$14 a day. Common labor at the same time made a demand for an increase of \$1 a day, from \$7 to \$8, and the hoisting engineer raised his price from \$10 a day to \$12 a day." Mr. Brown went on to say that "in thirty-five years' experience in the building trade covering many millions of dollars' worth of work I have never before met with such demands under such arbitrary conditions."

*National
Proportions of
Building Boom*

Another contractor of similar standing had been confronted with a demand of \$14 a day for bricklayers on two important buildings,



MR. MICHAEL J. COLLERAN

(Now head of the Building Trades Council of New York and also of the Operative Plasterers' and Cement Finishers' Union)

and he was obliged to accede because otherwise all his bricklayers were ready to start at once for Cleveland, Ohio, where they had been offered not only the \$14 a day wage but all expenses of transportation and free board after they arrived and went to work. Mr. Norman, of the board of governors of the Building Trades Employers' Association, said that in 1914 building operations in the United States were estimated to have amounted to one and a quarter billion dollars, while the contemplated building for 1923 was estimated at five billions, with no appreciable increase in the number of union bricklayers available during the decade. Mr. Norman further declared that, along with these steadily increasing demands for higher wages there was a tendency to decreased labor efficiency. Other speakers at the conference referred to the difficulty of obtaining materials. The high price of bricklaying is a mere detail in the long series of mounting costs.

*Materials
as well
as Labor*

From the standpoint of labor, it is the cost of materials rather than increase in wages that adds principally to the expense of new buildings, according to Mr. Colleran, president of the Building Trades Council of

New York. Mr. Colleran, in a letter to Mr. Shreve, estimates that "63 cents on every dollar of construction costs which the contractor pays goes to building material manufacturers, while only 37 cents goes for wages to labor. It was the profiteering price of materials, not high wages, which was the chief cause of the prohibitive cost of building in 1919 and 1920." Mr. Colleran proceeds as follows:

"Material costs, according to the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, in 1920 were 275 per cent. above the pre-war rates, while wages at the same time had risen only 97 per cent.

"When material costs dropped in 1921 and 1922 the building boom immediately began.

"Now that material costs are rising again the cost of building is being rapidly increased and the continuance of the construction boom threatened.

"According to the latest figures of United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, the cost of building materials had already risen 28 per cent. in March over March of the previous year.

"The profits which the contractor makes are also a large, but generally unknown, factor in the price which the public pays for construction.

"Your committee has a chance to render great service to the public as well as to work it incalculable harm. The public should know the whole truth about building costs. Organized labor would gladly support any sincere attempt in that direction. But organized labor will fight any attempt to foist upon the public partisan propaganda masquerading as the truth; and, whatever may have been the real purpose of your meeting, this is just what it appeared to be.

"Organized labor in the building trades has no desire to increase wages beyond what justice and sound public policy demand. As evidence of my conviction on this point, I shall be glad to propose to the New Building Trades Council a prohibition against exorbitant wage scales, if you can induce the manufacturers of building materials and the contractors of this city to take similar steps to apply an open and frank limitation of the same sort upon the prices they charge and the profits they make."

Facts About Bricks and Boards

It is quite true that the prices of materials have shown a new tendency to advance. Most materials this season are far more expensive than they were four years ago, but far less costly than three years ago. Common brick, wholesale, at New York, early in 1919, cost \$15 per thousand, while in May, 1920, the price was \$25, and this spring it has been \$20. Portland cement for the same three dates was quoted, per barrel, at \$3.40, \$4.50, and \$3.20. Hollow tile for partitions, per thousand, was approximately \$150, \$370, and \$210. Yellow pine flooring was \$85, \$182.50, and \$120, per thousand feet, while maple flooring was \$77.50, \$225, and \$125. Structural steel

materials, on the other hand, while much higher in 1920 than in 1919, have been quoted this spring at prices considerably below those of four years ago. Mr. Colleran, who endeavors to state the case of organized labor in the building trades, seems to overlook the fact that the high prices of materials, which he deprecates, are due largely if not chiefly to the labor demands in the trades that produce the materials. The cost of gravel and sand is principally a matter of common labor and transportation. The higher quotation for hollow tile materials is said to be due to increases in piece work prices that have been demanded and secured by labor. While conditions are not exactly like those at New York in other parts of the country, they are fairly similar.

Forethought Will Prevent Collapse

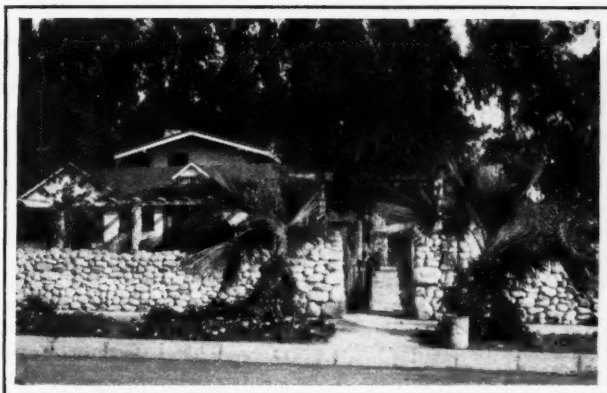
It will be much better for everyone concerned to go more slowly, and to avoid such sharp reactions as resulted from the impossible prices of 1920. The building boom in its larger aspects is due to the growth of population—nearly all of which is massing itself in towns and cities—and to a diffused intelligence and prosperity that insistently demand the things that belong to a higher standard of civilization. Within the memory of people still living, there were very few ordinary houses in the United States that had bathrooms, and practically no such houses in Europe. Water was brought in from the town pump. Sewer systems existed to a limited extent only in a few larger cities. We speak to-day of overcrowding, and we are apt to forget how meager and humble were the housing accommodations of the average family as recently as fifty or sixty years ago. The changes that have come about, viewed in a general way, are a vindication of the principles and methods of American democracy.

Democracy's Triumphs, in Better Homes

The sum total of the nation's wealth, as measured by its annual gross income, has increased far more rapidly than the population. It is in accordance with American principles that this gross income should be well distributed. It is not to be desired that wealth should be constantly growing in the hands of a mercantile and industrial plutocracy, with an immense laboring class kept down to the poverty line, competing for jobs and struggling for the means of

subsistence. On the other hand, it is not desirable that a nation of well-paid workers should voluntarily choose to live upon an Asiatic level, contented with inferior food, clothes, and shelter. Where a population has intelligence and is prosperous, there must of necessity be a steadily improving average of living conditions. Intelligence implies an understanding of hygienic laws, and a regard for personal and family comfort and dignity. This expresses itself in the kind of home that means a certain minimum number of rooms, with proper facilities for water supply, heating, lighting, and so on. With an enormously increased population needing houses, and with new standards that require a replacement of much inferior housing now in use, it is reasonable to expect that a large part of the gross income of the American people should, for the coming twenty years, be expended for construction and for the appointments that go with modern home requirements. Looking ahead at what is in prospect, it is safe to count upon continuous activity in the building and material trades, with the assurance of excellent wages. Organized labor, realizing these facts, should do its best to avoid temporary spurts and crises, and to operate along permanent lines. In the long run, the men working in building trades must adjust themselves to prevailing industrial conditions, and contribute their best efforts to improve the housing supply of their own members, and of their fellow-workers in all other industries.

New Structures for Education Meanwhile, it is to be remembered that the immense progress of recent years is reflected in many kinds of associated activity that require improved construction of a public or quasi-public character. New programs are necessitated by the increased numbers of young people attending high schools and colleges. The buildings for educational purposes that are now under construction or projected, if considered in the aggregate from one coast to the other, constitute a



A BUNGALOW AT LOS ANGELES, WHICH IS TYPICAL OF HOUSING DEVELOPMENTS, BOTH URBAN AND RURAL, THROUGHOUT SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

building movement of impressive magnitude. Construction for other purposes of a public character besides those for education would show an almost similarly large aggregate. The growth of commerce and trade is expressed in new construction for banks, retail stores, office buildings, and hotels. A part of the relief demanded by the building crisis last month was promptly met by postponement intended to give a more even distribution through a term of years to the country's building program, as concerns structures for public uses. In the vicinity of New York alone, it is probable that as much as \$100,000,000 worth of construction that had been planned for the present year was deferred until conditions should become more favorable. Columbia University, for example, announced the postponement of a \$10,000,000 building program. The Hebrew orphan asylum likewise decided not to erect its new \$4,000,000 building now, but to spend one-fifth of the amount in renovating its old buildings and making them fireproof.

Conditions Across the Country It is recognized as a sound government policy to expand the scope of public work when private enterprise fails to absorb the full supply of labor. Also it becomes the part of intelligence and practical wisdom for boards of trustees and the managers of large undertakings to act in a similar way, and to help avoid the evils of booms and speculative markets, and thus also to avert those of reaction and hard times. On the Pacific Coast, where there is much

building going on, the relations between employers and workers seem to be established on principles of more stable equilibrium than in the East. It is hoped in Chicago that a period of peaceful coöperation in the building trades may result from the recent signing of a three-year agreement. The parties to this treaty are the Building Construction Employers' Association, and the Chicago Building Trades Council. The principles of the agreement were established in the so-called Landis award some time ago, Judge Landis having acted as an umpire in the adjustment of wage scales and of matters in dispute. The Chicago bricklayers' agreement calls for wages at the rate of \$1.25 per hour, which amounts to ten dollars for an eight-hour day. That is the same as the New York rate, apart from present bonuses; but in New York the men are demanding a two years' agreement on a twelve-dollar basis.

*New Construction
in Various
Cities*

It is reported that in Cleveland adjustments in nearly all the building trades have been completed. Beginning June 1, a new wage scale goes into effect at Minneapolis which calls for an increase of about 10 per cent. for skilled labor all along the line, and these new rates will be accepted in other Minnesota cities. Wages in the Southern cities were in former times considerably lower than in the North, but the tendency is now towards equalization. Bricklayers in Atlanta have been increased from 90 cents to \$1.12 per hour. In St. Louis, wages have been high, and it is reported that carpenters and bricklayers have been receiving something like New York wages. Toward the middle of May it was reported from Boston that building costs within three months had gone up about 35 per cent. and that home construction had been largely shut down all over New England. The difficulty about securing delivery of materials at agreed prices has done more to retard the building boom than high wages, so far as New England is concerned. In cities like Detroit and Buffalo, the tendency is to postpone projected large structures, but to continue the rapid building of houses of moderate size and value for homes. St. Louis this year is destined to exceed by far the great building total of last year, in spite of exceedingly high costs. Building booms for the first half of the year in Cleveland will have shown an es-

timated value of perhaps three times that of the corresponding period last year, although much proposed construction is held in abeyance.

*Los Angeles
and
San Francisco*

Los Angeles reached the highest monthly record for building activities in all its history during the month of March. The almost unprecedented growth of that astonishing city seems to rest upon solid foundations and assured prospects. In the February number of this periodical, we published an article on the so-called American plan as agreed upon in San Francisco for establishing wage scales in the building trades. This plan operated successfully through 1922 and is relied upon to maintain stability. It carried San Francisco through a very large building program last year, and it seems to be operating well under the still more difficult conditions of the present season. It is reported that San Francisco has by no means caught up with the demand for homes of moderate cost; and there seems to be no criticism of high wages, which are accepted as a permanent fact everywhere on the coast.

*Scarcity of
"Common"
Labor*

The most marked change in wage conditions in the United States is in the field of what is called common or unskilled labor. Operatives in mills and factories, and the men and women employed in most industries, must have specific skill and experience of one kind or another, in order to be sharing advantageously in the benefits of prevailing high wages. But when it comes to the sheer ignoramus, the man who has no trade, no skill, and only a moderate endowment of brute muscle—the kind of men employed to dig in a sewer trench under an illiterate boss—wage rates are entirely out of line. A report from St. Louis at the beginning of May stated that unskilled laborers were receiving 67½ cents an hour as compared with from forty to fifty cents in March. In New York they were demanding \$8 per day. Furthermore, common labor is by no means as efficient as it was a few years ago; so that it is not an exaggeration to say that it costs from four to five times as much to have a given amount of rough work done as it did in 1910. In some lines of business the scarcity of common labor, resulting in arbitrarily high wages, has had almost prohibitive effects. For example, some of the

large nursery establishments of the East have not been able to fill their spring orders for trees and shrubs, because of the labor situation. The expense of road repair and construction after a devastating winter is enormously increased, and municipal work everywhere—as well as work on railroads and transportation lines—is rendered very expensive and difficult of accomplishment because of the inordinate cost of common labor—and its scarcity at any cost.

*Immigration
and Labor
Scarcity*

It is not strange that employers, finding themselves in this predicament, should look longingly towards Ellis Island; nor is it strange that certain foreign interests, particularly those in control of steamship lines, should be doing what they can to break down the public sentiment that has resulted in the severe limits now placed upon immigration. When one takes into account the return of foreign laborers to their native lands, our net gain of workers from Europe has been small during recent years. We summarized the statistics in these pages two months ago. Previous to the outbreak of the Great War, we were admitting something like a million immigrants a year. Besides those who came to stay permanently, there was a large seasonal movement of foreign workers, steerage rates both ways being very low. Thus common labor around the steel mills could be kept at low wages by reason of the competition of newly imported job-seekers. Where, in certain regions, the labor supply became restricted and labor was too assertive, it was easy enough through steamship agencies and foreign employment bureaus to stimulate immigration as desired without technically violating the contract labor laws.

*Wages at
Present Are
Excessive*

The consequence was that up to nine or ten years ago we were massing foreign-born population quite too rapidly in iron and steel districts, coal mining regions and great centers of general industry like New York, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, and Chicago. Many of them, for military reasons, went back to Europe during the war, and others for family reasons have since returned. Those who have remained are now reaping a rich reward. Undoubtedly many of them are demanding and receiving larger pay just now than they can properly earn. Their wage is too high when compared with that of skilled workers in the building and other trades,

or with that of employees in mercantile establishments and office workers of all kinds. It does not follow, however, that the remedy lies in abolishing immigration restrictions, doing away with the contract labor laws, and allowing the employment agents and the steamship lines to bring in a few millions of unskilled workers from Europe or Asia. Considering our welfare from the standpoint of the entire nation, this would not be a sound remedy for our immediate lack of proper wage adjustments. We have much to consider besides the momentary unwillingness of a sufficient number of people to do plain work without receiving unduly high compensation.

*Self-
Sustaining
Peoples*

Let us suppose, for example, that migration from one country to another, as affecting industrial conditions, were to be wholly ended for an indefinite period. A country like England has relatively few inhabitants who are not of British origin. Just now, foreign markets being less eager to absorb English goods at profitable prices than in former times, there is a surplus of labor in the British manufacturing towns. A part of this surplus could gradually be accommodated in the Greater Britain of the Dominions and the Empire. But if the entire British population had to stay at home, it would simply become necessary to accelerate the movement that has already begun towards a breaking up of large estates, with a much closer and more intensive cultivation of the soil. Great Britain could, if necessary, manage to get on, even if foreign trade should fall off still further. She could raise three times as much of her own food as at present; and by readjusting her industries she could greatly increase the demands of her home market. Apart from the danger of military aggression, the security of France lies in her ability to feed her own people and to live a fairly self-sustained economic life. The German position is more like that of England; but Central Europe—if given some access to Russia for raw materials and markets—could manage very well, and would not need to plan for the export of surplus population.

*The American
Population
Outlook*

Of all great nations, the United States is the only one that has been allowed to predicate its industrial development upon the idea of a constant importation of foreign workmen.

It has been our custom to give them a cordial reception and good wages, and to thrust upon them the status of citizenship and of full political privilege, without any real evidence of their fitness. It is assumed that all other nations except our own are able to perpetuate themselves as regards the human stock. But it has in recent times been rather generally conceded that the old American stock must die out, and that the country must be given over to the polyglot newcomers and their more virile and industrious progeny. As a matter of fact, we are now much more favorably situated than any one of the European countries for trying the experiment of building up our own distinctive nationality, from the population elements that are now domesticated here. The doctrine of asylum, however valid it might once have been, has no further practical application to American conditions, except that in a temporary emergency rules might be relaxed as for the succor of a few Greek or Armenian refugees.

*Adjustments
to New
Situations*

The simple truth is that our experiences of the past fifty years have had no reference to the doctrine of asylum, but have been largely due to the enterprise of European steamship companies seeking profits from carrying human cargoes. The situation in our industrial districts, instead of being better for these importations, is distinctly worse. We have now fully 110,000,000 people in the United States, and these constitute quite a sufficient number of human beings to do all the work that has to be done within our domains. Very high wages in manual pursuits will merely stimulate desirable modes of readjustment. Thus it has been clearly shown that we are producing much larger quantities of stable farm products with a given amount of labor than at former periods. Tractors and other improved machines release a certain percentage of farm laborers from drudgery, and give them an opportunity to work for better pay in the factories that produce the machines. The inventors are stimulated to produce all kinds of labor-saving devices in order to diminish the number of men required to perform crude tasks.

*Good Handling
of Our War
Debt*

In announcing on May 6, an issue of \$400,000,000 of Treasury notes to be used in retiring Victory bonds, Secretary Mellon of

the Treasury makes a gratifying report of debt refunding operations and of the current year's general financial results. This present issue of notes marks the completion of the first phase of the retirement of our war debt. Before the May issue, there were \$830,000,000 of Victory notes still unredeemed. With the proceeds of this issue, together with exchanges of Victory notes for the new ones, it is expected that all of the former will be retired. If the exchanges should be below expectations, any balance can easily be handled through expected oversubscriptions to the present issue together with drafts from the present treasury fund, which now amounts to about \$300,000,000. When Secretary Mellon began two years ago his orderly policy of financing, there were some \$4,000,000,000 of Victory notes outstanding. The policy was to pay off and refund these short-time notes in such manner as to bring maturity dates of new issues at convenient times in the coming years up to 1928. In that year, the third Liberty Loan, of approximately \$3,500,000,000, comes due. The Treasury expects that with the careful scheduling of the shorter term notes, they can be paid off without any disturbance to the business of the country. Mr. Mellon's handling of this \$4,000,000,000 of short-term debt has been singularly neat and painless.

*A Treasury
Surplus for
the Year*

Two years ago the entire public debt amounted to about \$24,000,000,000, of which more than \$7,500,000,000 matured in two years or less. By the end of the present fiscal year, June 30, 1923, this total debt will have been reduced to \$22,400,000,000, with the great mass of short-dated notes either retired or replaced with new notes maturing according to an orderly schedule, allowing easy handling. Not only has the Treasury made this excellent record in financing our great war debt; Secretary Mellon is able to announce that with the budget squarely balanced, the end of the present fiscal year will show a surplus of about \$125,000,000. This result becomes more impressive when it is considered that under "ordinary expenditures" the Government now includes sinking fund and other debt retirements which aggregate more than \$400,000,000 a year. In other words, a current surplus means an excess of receipts over, not only the expenses of operating the Government, but also over sinking-fund charges and

similar public debt requirements. It will be remembered that at the beginning of the year, the prospects were for a considerable deficit,—generally estimated at well over \$500,000,000. That the twelve months should end, instead, with a substantial surplus is due to a certain extent to decreases in the general expenditures of the Government, but to a much larger extent, of course, to increased receipts from internal revenue and customs, resulting from the prosperous condition of business and the unexpected efficiency of the new import tariff as a revenue producer.

*Record
Industrial
Figures*

This revival of business and industry, which has been of such signal help to the Treasury in handling its problems, is now probably at or near its peak, with a recognition in every part of the country that boom times are with us. The vast United States Steel Corporation is operating its plants at the unprecedented rate of 97 per cent. of their utmost capacity. The output of motor cars for the month of March was 346,000; the largest ever known up to that month; while for April, it is estimated that about 355,000 passenger cars and trucks were built. The railroads spent in 1922, for equipment alone, \$245,000,000, and are expected to spend about \$675,000,000 in 1923. The copper mines which shut down in 1921, unable to produce the metal at a profit with the price at 12 cents or less, are again in operation, taking out all the copper they can find labor to mine, and selling it at prices of 16 to 17 cents a pound. The textile mills are now running at an unprecedented rate, the Census Bureau's figures showing that in the month of March they used 623,000 bales of cotton. Railroad traffic is breaking all records, the quantity of business offered being greater than can be moved. The reports of building construction show an activity in the cities more than 50 per cent. greater than last year, when it was already much above the general level of activity. Along with the almost feverish building of houses, the manufacture of furniture for them proceeds at a rate never known before.

*A "Boom" that
is Under
Control* There are notable differences between the present era of prosperity and the last one, three years ago. A specific difference is that the rates for money are moderate or low.

While the banks have been forced to lend very heavily, indeed, to business men to enable them to carry on this exceptional volume of trade, it has not been necessary as yet to use to any appreciable extent the resources of the Federal Reserve system, and credit could be expanded almost indefinitely without coming to the last line of entrenchments. We have about half of all the gold in the world, and in the last three years have increased our holdings from \$2,000,000,000 to \$3,000,000,000. But a much more important difference than this specific matter of the supply of capital and its cost is the attitude of Americans toward the present flush times. Three years ago the man in the street could always prove that we were in a new era; that prices were going to keep on going up, indefinitely, and that the one necessary thing to do immediately was to buy, at any price that would get it, all the material that one could possibly find offered for sale. The tragic results of this spirit of the post-armistice boom have been too recent to be forgotten. Today, people are proceeding with due caution, and merchants are as yet rather understocked than overstocked with goods. The country at large is apprehensive of disaster that may come from speculative activity, and this apprehension is the one great safeguard against serious trouble.

*The Workers'
Interest
in Stability*

The current criticisms of Judge Gary and others who favor bringing in unemployed laborers from other countries generally assume that the only point at issue is more moderate wages for American workmen and more stable profits for employers. But, as is pointed out by that very sane and clear-headed economist, Mr. George E. Roberts, the public itself, including the whole body of manual laborers, have an interest in industrial stability, now so definitely threatened by a "runaway" market for labor. "The coal operators, steel and cement manufacturers and other employers can afford to raise wages as long as consumers can afford to buy the products; it will be only as buying falls off that the employers will be injured, and this will signify that industry is slowing down, production diminishing and everybody being injured." The resistance to the natural readjustment of wages in the depression of 1921 is considered by some to have been a victory for organized labor; but Mr.

Roberts believes that "if an accurate calculation could be made, it doubtless would show that the wage-earners lost more by unemployment and by keeping up the cost of living than their gain amounted to." The most unbalanced feature of the present wage situation lies in the discrepancy between the earnings of organized labor and the earnings of farmers. But while this hurts the farmer vitally, it is not by any means an unqualified gain for the industrial worker, for if there is no corresponding movement upward of prices of agricultural products, the farmers' purchasing power is reduced to a point that affects injuriously all industry and industrial workers, while the latter have to pay the higher prices required for such products as they consume coming from other groups of high cost workers.

*"Schemes
of Mice
and Men"*

The danger of interfering with the natural law of supply and demand, either by organized efforts of workers or by any general mass action, is aptly illustrated by the present situation in the sugar market. Two years ago we were so much disturbed over the low price of raw sugar, which, in the depression, reached 2 cents, and its effect on the beet sugar industry in the United States, that it was seriously proposed to restrict Cuban sugar production to 2,500,000 tons, and a tariff of 1.76 cents net was put on sugar importations into this country. We get from Cuba half of all the sugar we consume. As a matter of historical fact, however, the low prices so stimulated consumption that with a Cuban crop this year of about 3,750,000 tons, there is doubt as to having enough of the commodity for any such consumption as is indicated for the current prosperous year, and the price of raw sugar is three times what it was at the low point, with vast public indignation, numberless investigations, and demands for a boycott. What would have happened to the price if the Cuban crop had been restricted in size to such figures as were contemplated can readily be conceived. It is very clear that it is often as dangerous to interfere with economic laws as it is to disturb the balance of nature by importations of English sparrows into America, or of rabbits into Australia. As to the present price of sugar to the consumer, it must be remembered that it is not so high, as compared with the lowest points,

as the current quotations for steel, or cotton, or furniture, or a number of other necessities.

*The Crops
of 1923*

The report of the Department of Agriculture on May 8 estimated smaller crops of winter wheat, rye and hay than last year, though still somewhat larger than the average for ten years. The wheat area sown last autumn was very large; indeed, it was never but once exceeded. But unfavorable winter conditions led to exceptionally widespread abandonment, amounting to 14.3 per cent. of the original planting. The spring planting, too, has been done under the unfavorable conditions of a cold and windy season. This year the Department of Agriculture is for the first time attempting to publish, while the planting is going on, tentative figures of acreage to be cultivated for each crop, with the thought that this may be of aid to the individual farmer in shaping his own plans for this crop or that. Thousands of crop reporters send in the figures from all parts of the country in the first part of April, so that about the middle of that month the farmers know, for instance, that the marked overproduction of Irish potatoes last year has resulted in a drastic reduction, in 1923, in the area planted—less than 91 per cent. of the 1922 acreage. The high prices for cotton have led the Southern planters to seed more than last year's total by 12 per cent.; tobacco acreage, for the same reason, has increased by 10 per cent.; oats and corn by 2.6 per cent. each, while spring wheat shows a falling off of 5.5 per cent. in acreage.

*Magna
Charta Day,
June 15*

As the world emerges from the radical and revolutionary ferment following the Great War, there is a welcome recurrence to the principles upon which our progress has been based through the experience of centuries. We who live in the English-speaking countries have in common a definite background of constitutional and legal history. One of the outstanding events bearing a fixed date is the granting of Magna Charta on June 15, in the year 1215. Thus we are now in the first decade of the eighth century since the Bill of Rights was agreed to by King John in conference with the Barons at Runnymede on the River Thames near Windsor Castle. Many



THE WEDDING OF THE KING'S SECOND SON, THE DUKE OF YORK, TO A SCOTCH BRIDE, ON APRIL 26, MET WITH ENTHUSIASTIC APPROVAL THROUGHOUT GREAT BRITAIN

(The photograph above was taken in Buckingham Palace after the return of the royal party from the ceremony in Westminster Abbey. The bride's parents, the Earl and Countess of Strathmore, are at the left, the King and Queen at the right, and the bride, who was Lady Elizabeth Bowes-Lyon, and the Duke of York are in the center)

years ago the editor of this periodical celebrated that anniversary date by visiting Runnymede and then proceeding, with an American friend, to the British Museum to inspect the original Magna Charta document that is treasured there. We two Americans were apparently the only men who in that particular year were observing the date. Now, throughout the English-speaking world, prominent people with the aid of hundreds—perhaps thousands—of newspapers, are calling attention to Magna Charta and the principles of freedom that underlie our social and political institutions.

*A Popular
Royal
Family*

President Harding is an honorary president of the Magna Charta Day Association, and its supporters are to be found in Canada, Australia, and throughout the English-speaking world, with Minnesota having the honor of launching it. It is no longer necessary to win popular concessions from governments or from hereditary rulers. Freedom of person, of domicile, of speech,

of press, of private property, of social and political activity, is as complete and as well secured under the British Crown as under the American system. The present season finds the British King and Queen meeting the leaders of the Labor party in the most cordial way. Recent events, such as the marriage of the King's second son, the Duke of York, have shown clearly that the royal family is more popular to-day than ever before in England, although the so-called lower classes fully understand the power they possess to control the destinies of Britain. The monarchy no longer asserts its exclusive privileges, but seeks to serve the common good by promoting unity. The Labor Party has some convictions on the subject of taxation that are distasteful to the great hereditary landlords, and to the so-called industrial magnates; but such proposals have as their avowed motive the promotion of national welfare. The peerage and the House of Lords are no longer held in reverence, but nobody questions the stability of the Crown.

RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS

(From April 13 to May 15, 1923)

AMERICAN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

April 13.—A New York City magistrate states that prohibition has made the police force "either absolutely inefficient or criminally corrupt" and that only 658 indictments and 18 convictions have been obtained from 13,000 arrests.

The Department of Agriculture reports for 1922 a decrease in rural population of 460,000 persons.

April 14.—J. R. McCarl, Controller General, calls Secretary Denby's attention to his power to compel cabinet officers to accept his suggestions on fiscal affairs.

April 16.—William E. Dever (Dem.) takes office as Mayor of Chicago, succeeding William Hale Thompson (Rep.), incumbent for the past eight years.

April 17.—Secretary Davis reports a serious labor shortage and suggests selective immigration by United States officials stationed abroad, with enrollment of aliens and Americanization of immigrants already here (see page 615).

Governor Alexander J. Groesbeck vetoes the Michigan tax of two cents a gallon on gasoline. The Florida legislature begins an investigation of flogging and peonage in convict camps.

April 18.—The Florida House votes 63 to 15 to abolish corporal punishment in handling county prisoners.

The Interstate Commerce Commission orders fifty-one large railroads to file data on equipment facilities and labor conditions, in an effort to get efficiency data by May 25.

The Post Office announces that the air mail service has flown 5,281,823 miles since May 15, 1918, when it was started; the present schedule calls for flying 2,000,000 miles a year and present percentage performance is 90.39; five years of operation cost \$4,205,967.69, with 160,473,600 letters carried, of which 60,900,000 were handled last year alone.

April 19.—The Government sues to enjoin the New York Coffee and Sugar Exchange from speculation in sugar.

The United States Tariff Commission reports to President Harding that the increased price of sugar is not due to the present tariff rate.

April 20.—Judge W. C. Van Fleet sentences twenty business men of the Sanitary Potters Association for violating the Sherman Anti-Trust Law; eight are sent to prison and fined \$160,000.

A federal grand jury at Fort Worth, Texas, indicts ninety-one oil promoters for using the mails to defraud.

April 21.—The Tariff Commission is instructed by the President to conduct a full investigation into operation of the Fordney-McCumber Tariff rates to put into effect the flexible provisions of the law.

April 24.—President Harding advocates participation by the United States in the International Court of Justice, at the annual meeting of the Associated Press in New York, but he declares that

he does not propose to enter the League of Nations now "by the side door, or the back door, or the cellar door."

April 26.—Secretary Denby announces that the Navy will not elevate guns on battleships unless Congress gives further directions.

April 27.—Secretary Hughes backs up President Harding's stand on the world court question in a speech before the American Society of International Law.

April 30.—The United States Supreme Court decides, 7 to 2, that American ships may carry liquor outside the three-mile limit; but no ship, domestic or foreign, may serve or transport liquor within United States territorial waters.

May 1.—Chemical Warfare Service experts test chlorine gas in weak concentration as a check against influenza, grip, and colds, and use mustard gas as a specific for tuberculosis.

May 2.—At St. Joseph, Mich., a communist named Ruthenberg is convicted of advocating criminal syndicalism.

May 4.—The New York legislature repeals the Mullan-Gage prohibition enforcement law; the vote is 28 to 22 in the Senate and 76 to 70 in the Assembly; the legislature adjourns.

May 5.—Edward H. Cunningham, of Des Moines, Iowa, is appointed by President Harding to the Federal Reserve Board; he is secretary of the Iowa Farm Bureau Federation.

May 9.—A judge of the United States District Court at New York decides the Volstead Act is void as to limiting the prescription of liquor by a physician.

The "Expedition Court," composed of four United States Circuit Court judges, refuses to grant the injunction sought by the Government against the New York Coffee and Sugar Exchange.

May 10.—Edward P. Farley is appointed to succeed Albert D. Lasker as chairman of the United States Shipping Board.

President Harding decides to return from his Alaska visit by way of the Panama Canal and plans to leave Washington about June 20 (see page 563).

May 13.—Secretary Mellon announces over-subscription of the \$400,000,000 issue of Treasury notes, the amount of cash and Victory notes offered in exchange exceeding \$1,000,000,000.

May 14.—The Florida Senate abolishes flogging of convicts by vote of 16 to 12.

FOREIGN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

April 13.—At Simla, British India, the Public Health Commissioner announces 36,900 deaths from the plague from December to the end of March; the mean average for the last four years was 14,400.

The first Irish Free State budget calls for £40,500,000, with a prospective deficit of £20,000,000.

April 14.—Free State troops capture Austin Stack, De Valera's chief aide.

April 16.—The budget in the House of Commons calls for reduction of sixpence in the income tax and a penny off the tax on beer by the pint; the corporation tax is cut one-half after June 30; £40,000,000 is applied for debt reduction; expenditures total £816,616,000 and revenues £852,650,000, leaving an estimated surplus of £36,000,000.

April 17.—Premier Mussolini demands from Catholics of the Popular Party in the Italian Cabinet complete support or resignation.

April 19.—British railways agree to reduce freight rates to 50 per cent. above pre-war tariffs on farm products and 60 per cent. on general merchandise; the rates have been 75 per cent. above pre-war level, and the reduction will cost the roads £9,000,000 a year.

King Fuad signs the new Egyptian constitution as approved by the Cabinet.

April 20.—The House of Commons defeats a drastic dry bill on second reading by a vote of 236 to 14; statistics from America are used against the bill, Viscount Curzon declaring that in twenty leading cities of the United States convictions for drunkenness rose from 142,000 in 1920 to 256,000 last year.

General Weygand is ordered to go to Syria to govern the French mandate there.

April 23.—The British Foreign Office under-secretary states in the Commons that while in 1918 only £8,675 of wines and £6,370 of spirits were exported to the Bahamas, the amount increased in 1922 to £27,260 in wines and £1,000,000 in spirits; the excess is assumed to have been smuggled into the United States.

Premier Mussolini accepts the resignations of four Cabinet members of the Popular or Catholic party.

April 26.—Prince Albert, Duke of York, marries Lady Elizabeth Bowes-Lyon, youngest daughter of the Earl of Strathmore.

April 27.—Eamon de Valera announces an offer of peace terms and orders an end of hostilities by Irish Republicans.

The Trotzky plan for rehabilitating Russian industries under Soviet control is put into effect.

April 28.—Soviet Russia reorganizes the government into two Central Committees analogous to Senate and House; the executive branch has 40 members and 17 associates or "candidates," while the control branch has 50 members and 10 candidates; all initiative is vested in the executive body.

Mexico grants a concession to ex-Senator Guillermo Laveaga for construction of two national highways thirty feet wide from Nogales to the Guatemalan border and from Mexico City to Laredo.

April 29.—Premier Bonar Law leaves London on a sea voyage, bound for the Dutch East Indies.

May 1.—The House of Commons rejects, 253 to 94, the Lambert motion against expenditure of £11,000,000 to complete the naval base at Singapore.

May 3.—The All-Russian Church conclave at Moscow unfrocks former Patriarch Tikhon, accused of treason by the Soviet Republic. . . . Eleven members of the Moscow Housing Commission are executed by shooting for accepting bribes.

May 5.—The All-Russian Church conclave elects Vedensky, the church reformer, as Archbishop of Moscow; the Gregorian Calendar for church

holidays is adopted and relics are retained but kept open to the public view, while all monasteries not organized as communes are to be closed.

May 6.—Near Lincheng, Shantung, China, a railway train is wrecked by bandits and 150 passengers (including twenty foreigners) are held for ransom; one foreigner is killed; women captives are later released.

May 11.—Canadian Finance Minister W. S. Fielding proposes tariff reciprocity with the United States on agricultural products if President Harding decides to reduce the rates on imports from Canada.

May 13.—The Peking Government concludes terms with Shantung bandits for release of foreigners by which troops are to be withdrawn and the bandits later enrolled in the Chinese army; President Li Yuan-hung appoints Chang Ying-hua as Finance Minister, succeeding Liu En-yuan.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

April 15.—Secretary Hughes publishes correspondence with Japanese Ambassador Hanihara cancelling the Lansing-Ishii agreement of 1917, which recognized, contrary to fixed American policy, special Japanese interests in China; the Root-Takahara understanding of 1908 is left intact, asserting equal rights in China for all powers and supporting Chinese independence and integrity.

At Santiago, Chile, delegates to the Pan-American Conference approve a treaty arrangement proposed by Emanuel Gondra (Paraguay) to investigate inter-American disputes before hostilities.

April 17.—The League Council appoints J. D. Hunger, former Governor of Batavia, a Hollander, as financial adviser to Albania; Mrs. Hamilton Wright is reappointed technical adviser to the League commission for control of opium traffic.

The State Department publishes a special report by General John H. Russell, High Commissioner of Haiti, optimistic in tone.

April 20.—The Irish Free State applies for admission to the League of Nations.

April 21.—Correspondence on liquor smuggling between the United States and Great Britain is published, and it becomes known that England will cooperate in curbing the illegal traffic, but refuses to consent to Secretary Hughes' proposal of mutual search of ships on the high sea.

The League Council inquires of the United States as to its plans for controlling the manufacture and sale of arms; it asks the Permanent Court of International Justice to interpret the status of Eastern Karelia under the Soviet-Finland treaty of October, 1920; it orders all documents bearing on the Bulgarian-Greek controversy in Thrace sent to Governments concerned; Dr. Fridtjof Nansen is instructed to obtain Greek cooperation in aiding refugees.

April 23.—President Alessandri of Chile invites Presidents Bernardes of Brazil, Serrato of Uruguay, and de Alvear of Argentina to a conference at Montevideo in September.

Soviet Russia and Denmark enter into a trade agreement.

April 24.—Charles Beecher Warren, former Ambassador to Japan, and John Barton Payne, former Secretary of the Interior, are chosen by President Harding to represent the United States at Mexico City in a conference on Mexican-American relations; President Obregon names Ramon Ross and Fernando Gonzales Rea.

May 1.—An agreement with Finland adjusting the debt of \$9,000,000 to the United States is signed at Washington, and becomes tentatively operative.

The international Police Conference at New York City condemns carrying revolvers and advocates numerous measures for suppressing and preventing crime.

May 3.—The Pan-American Conference at Santiago comes to an end, with agreement on a number of international health measures.

General Chang Hsi-yuan, Military Governor of Chahar, China, calls on the American Legation at Peking and formally apologizes for the attack on American Consul Sokobin, December 11; other details necessary to comply with American demands are being arranged.

May 8.—Great Britain sends an ultimatum to Russia, asking satisfactory assurances within ten days concerning propaganda, admission of liability for offenses against British ships and subjects, with compensation, and withdrawal of the Weinstein notes partly replying to the British protest against Soviet religious prosecutions.

May 9.—Pope Pius XI receives the British King and Queen at the apostolic palace in Rome.

May 12.—Leonid Krassin goes from Moscow to London via airplane; the Russian reply to the British note is delivered at Moscow and maintains that Russia has a legal right to establish the twelve-mile zone of territorial waters.

May 14.—The Mexican-American conference opens at Mexico City.

THE RUHR SITUATION

April 13.—Premiers Theunis of Belgium and Poincaré of France confer and decide to initiate "a whole series of new measures."

April 14.—French and Belgian premiers reject M. Loucheur's proposals for reaching an accord with England and decide to withhold publication of the Franco-Belgian terms for Germany.

April 30.—French troops seize four more German coal mines, making a total of thirty-five held by military forces; Germans attempt to thwart the move by arranging fake sales of mine property.

May 2.—Germany offers to the Allies 30,000,000 gold marks as a reparations total, 20,000,000,000 to be raised by foreign loan before July 1, 1927; no guarantees are given.

May 6.—France and Belgium reject the German offer; the note declares that passive resistance is not an act of the Ruhr population but of the German government; it claims that the German offer is full of jokers, and that German home industry is being built up while reparations are not paid to rebuild France, where 100,000,000,000 paper francs already spent have repaired only half the devastated regions.

May 8.—A French court martial convicts and sentences Baron Krupp von Bohlen to fifteen years' imprisonment and a fine of 100,000,000 marks for causing riots at Essen on March 31; other officials of the Krupp works also receive severe sentences.

May 12.—The Germans blow up a steel bridge across the Rhine-Herne Canal near Osterfeld, and the French troops fine the town 100,000,000 marks and arrest the Burgomaster.

May 13.—Great Britain replies to Germany's reparation offer, calling attention to deficiencies and suggesting that there "must be recognition by

Germany that contribution much more serious and much more precise is required than any which yet has been forthcoming."

THE SECOND CONFERENCE AT LAUSANNE

April 23.—The Lausanne Conference, to adjust Allied differences with Turkey, is reopened on a basis of agreement regarding the Straits régime, with the practical adjustment of boundaries, and abandonment of the Armenian state idea; the points at issue are financial and economic.

April 24.—Ismet Pasha proposes that a definite date be set for evacuation of Constantinople and Chanak by Allied troops—say, immediately after ratification of the treaty by the Angora Assembly.

April 28.—The conference studies recognition of trade marks and patents; the Allies assure Ismet Pasha that foreign post-offices will be abolished in Turkey with capitulations in general.

April 29.—The Allied and American demands for Turkish protection of minorities are dropped.

It is announced the French have 35,000 troops in Syria and 8,000 in Constantinople, where the British have 25,000 men.

April 30.—General Pelle of France informs Ismet Pasha that his country insists on a fair settlement of the Ottoman debt, with payment of interest in gold instead of in paper as proposed; that France will remain in Syria; and that she will retain the concessions given by the Turks in 1914.

May 2.—Joseph C. Grew, American observer, notifies France that the United States will not support any claims to concessions in Turkey which abrogate acquired rights of nationals of other countries.

May 7.—Eleutherios Venizelos protests against provisions in the treaty draft requiring Greece to extend amnesty to Greek military offenders, and against payment of any indemnity to Turkey.

May 10.—M. Vorovsky, the uninvited Soviet representative at Lausanne, is shot dead by a Swiss who claims to be a former officer in Russian "White" armies under both Wrangel and Denikin; two other Russians are wounded.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

April 13.—Wages in the packing industry are increased 11 per cent. and affect 20,000 Chicago workers and 60,000 employees in other cities.

April 14.—Over 10,000 garment workers attend the opening of the Amalgamated Bank at Union Square, New York City, and 1300 union labor depositors open \$500,000 of accounts; \$284,000 had previously been deposited.

April 17.—At Dayton, Ohio, an army Fokker monoplane, T-2, establishes a world's record for sustained flight of 36 hours, 5 minutes, 20 seconds; 2,541.2 miles are covered. . . . A naval biplane weighing 6000 lbs. climbs 11,300 ft.

April 18.—The new Yankee stadium at New York City is opened with an attendance of 74,200; the record baseball crowd heretofore has been 42,000, at Bcston in 1916 during the world's series.

April 26.—Hon. John James MacLaren, D.C.L., Court of Appeal Judge at Toronto, Canada, is elected president of the World's Sunday School Association, succeeding Mr. John Wanamaker.

The Methodist Episcopal Church announces an enrollment for 1922 in its 36,188 Sunday schools of

4,918,194 members, with 400,000 officers and teachers, together contributing \$1,772,121 to church missions.

May 3.—Lieutenants Oakley G. Kelly and John A. Macready fly without stop across the continent from New York City to San Diego, Cal., in 26 hours, 50 minutes, and 26 seconds, at an average speed of 100 miles per hour for 2700 miles, breaking all records for distance in a non-stop flight.

A train wreck in Utah Mountains kills nearly a dozen persons and seriously injures thirty-five.

May 4.—It is announced that Henry Ford's motor company has accumulated assets totaling \$536,351,939, net profits of \$119,000,000 for 1922, and cash in hand amounting to \$159,603,687 (about \$33,000,000 more cash than reported by the United States Steel Corporation).

May 5.—The National League of Women Voters names twelve living women whom they consider the greatest of their sex; they are: Jane Addams; Cecilia Beaux, painter; Anna Jump Cannon, astronomer; Carrie Chapman Catt, politics; Anna Botsford Comstock, naturalist; Minnie Maddern Fiske, actress; Louise Homer, singer; Julia Lathrop, child welfare; Florence Rena Sabin, anatomist; M. Carey Thomas, educator; Martha Van Rensselaer, home economics; and Edith Wharton, author.

May 7.—The New York Stock Exchange discovers a daring attempt to "rig" the market.

Radio service between the Netherlands and the Dutch East Indies is begun.

May 8.—Snowstorms and blizzards sweep the Middle West in a cold wave of one of the most backward springs on record.

The fiftieth anniversary of establishment of trained nursing and of the Bellevue Training School for Nurses is celebrated at Carnegie Hall in New York.

OBITUARY

April 14.—The Rev. Gershom Mott Williams, Bishop in charge of American Episcopal churches in Europe, 66.

April 16.—I. Reynolds Adriance, Poughkeepsie, N. Y., manufacturer of mowers and reapers, 73. . . . Col. J. Frank Supplee, Baltimore banker, 72. . . . Dr. John Thomas Gulick, missionary and author, 91.

April 17.—Fred Maltby Warner (Rep.), former Governor of Michigan, 58. . . . Rev. Dr. George Clarke Houghton, rector of "The Little Church Around the Corner," New York City, 72.

April 19.—Capt. Edward Thompson, law-book publisher, 79. . . . Dr. George Frederick Payne, Atlanta, Ga., scientist, 70.

April 22.—Jesse M. Littleton, prominent attorney of Chattanooga, Tenn., 56.

April 23.—Major-Gen. Frank D. Baldwin, U. S. A., retired, twice awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor, 81.

April 24.—Dr. James Macfarlane Winfield, dermatologist, 63. . . . John Charles Turner, cypress lumber magnate, 63.

April 25.—Robert E. Difenderfer, who built and operated the first woolen mill in China, 74.

April 26.—Floyd Charles Furlow, metallurgist, president of the Otis Elevator Company, 46. . . .

Dr. Arthur Mees, well-known musician and composer, 73. . . . Gen. Guido Norman Lieber, U. S. A., retired, 84. . . . John O. Lambdin, music and dramatic critic of the *Baltimore Sun*, 50.

April 27.—Daniel J. Riordan (Dem.), Representative in Congress from New York City, 53.

April 28.—Knute Nelson (Rep.), United States Senator from Minnesota, 80.

April 30.—Emerson Hough, noted pioneer and author, 66 (see page 643). . . . Bishop Alfred Harding of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Washington Diocese, 71.

May 1.—Rear Adm. William Sheffield Cowles, U. S. N., retired, 76. . . . Alexander D. Mebane, noted Texas cotton breeder.

May 4.—John W. Rainey, Representative in Congress from Chicago, 43. . . . Sir William Robertson Nicoll, editor of the *British Weekly*, 72.

May 5.—James W. Faulkner, national political correspondent for the *Cincinnati Enquirer*, 60.

May 6.—Frank Finley Mackay, actor, 91. . . . Henry R. Edmunds, Philadelphia lawyer, 83.

May 7.—Sadie Martinct, actress, 62. . . . Benjamin A.

Smith, Gloucester, Mass., fisherman who first entered the races for the international championship with Canadian fishermen.

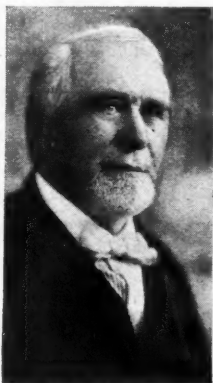
May 10.—Matthew S. Dwyer, general manager of the *Providence Journal*, 63.

May 11.—Brig. General Henry Martyn Robert, U. S. A., retired, 86.

May 12.—Prof. Louis Derr, noted physicist who tried to determine the weight of the world, 55.

May 13.—Right Rev. Mgr. Joseph F. Mooney, Senior Vicar-General of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of New York, 83. . . . Nathaniel Curwin Wright, publisher of the *Toledo Blade*, 54.

May 14.—Rev. Dr. James A. MacDonald, noted Canadian Presbyterian, 61. . . . Arthur I. Street, author and editor, 54.



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THE LATE SENATOR NELSON OF MINNESOTA

(Knute Nelson, who was eighty years old in February, came to the United States from Norway while a small boy. He went to the Northwest, where he obtained a good education, served in the Civil War, and became a lawyer in Wisconsin, promptly entering public life. Removing to Minnesota in 1871, his ability was at once recognized, and after service in State positions he went to Congress forty years ago. He was twice elected Governor of Minnesota and entered the United States Senate in 1895, where he had served twenty-eight years. He was chairman of the Judiciary Committee, and as highly esteemed by his Democratic colleagues as by his fellow Republicans.)

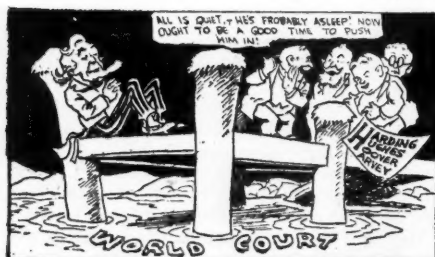
AMERICA AND A WORLD COURT

SOME CARTOON SIDELIGHTS



PERHAPS IT'S THE FAMOUS "LOST CHORD"—BUT CAN THEY HOLD IT?

From the Tribune (New York)



TRYING TO CATCH UNCLE SAM OFF HIS GUARD

From the Bee (Sacramento, Cal.)



CAUSING QUITE A DISTURBANCE

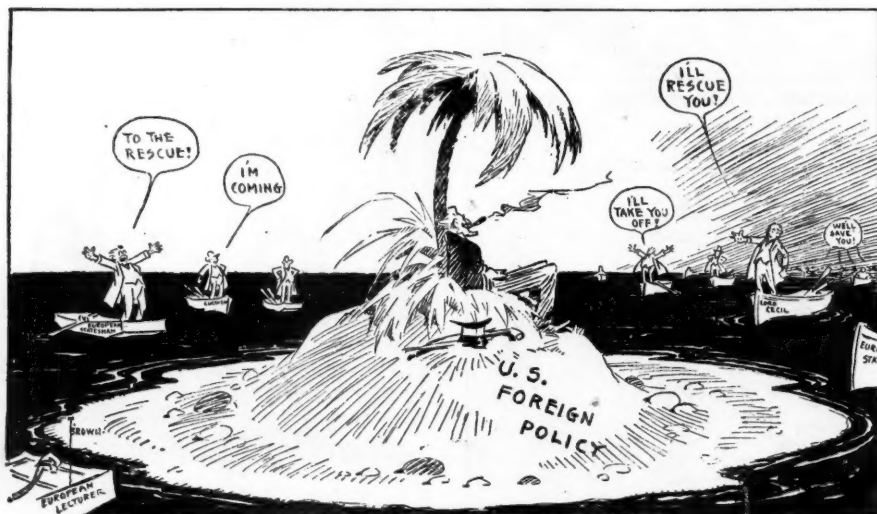
From the *Citizen* (Brooklyn, N. Y.)

WESTWARD HO!

From the *Star* (St. Louis, Mo.)

IF we may judge from the quantity of cartoon comment, the World Court has become the chief question before the American people; and it is to be assumed that President Harding's speech-making in the West, on

his way to Alaska, will result in further clarification of the public mind. League advocates consider the West to be the "enemy's country"—the stronghold of Borah, Johnson, La Follette, and the Farm Bloc.



THOSE EUROPEAN STATESMEN FEEL SO SORRY FOR UNCLE SAM

From the *News* (Chicago, Ill.)



WHEN THE NEAR EAST MEETS THE FAR WEST
From the *News* (Dallas, Texas)



THE FAVORED GUEST
From the *Chronicle* (San Francisco, Cal.)

In the opinion of many, the President's recommendation that the United States should join the Permanent Court of International Justice—a creation of the League of Nations—could hardly bring greater foreign entanglements than the oil and other concessions recently granted by Turkey to Americans associated with Admiral Chester, in return for railroad and port development. Both Great Britain and France are known

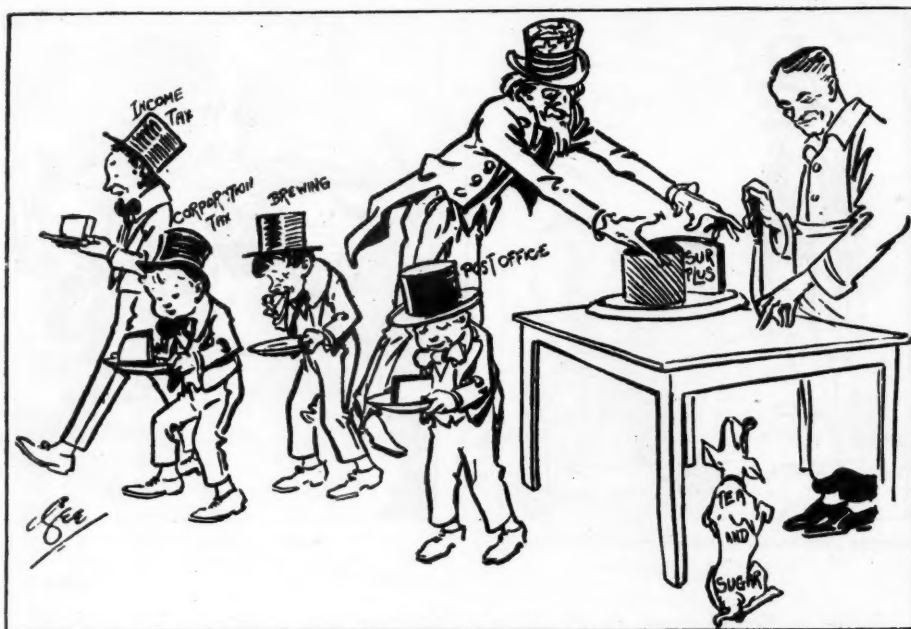
to regard the Chester grant as "unfriendly" to them; and it is feared in some quarters here that the Turk may be attempting to buy American friendship. Such a supposition is based principally upon the fact that the concession was granted by the Angora government on the eve of the assembling of the second Lausanne conference last month, called by the Allies to settle the whole Turkish problem.



AN INVOLUNTARY LANDING
From the *Evening News* (Newark, N. J.)



AND YET UNCLE SAM IS BEING URGED TO HELP THEM SOME MORE!
From the *Tribune* © (Chicago, Ill.)
[The English cartoon made a part of Mr. McCutcheon's drawing was reproduced in the *Review of Reviews* for April]



THE BRITISH BUDGET FOR THE YEAR SHOWS A SURPLUS—BUT UNCLE SAM GETS THE MOST OF IT AND THERE IS LITTLE LEFT FOR TAX REDUCTIONS

From the *News of the World* (London, England)



BARGAINING WITH THE TURK, AT THE LAUSANNE CONFERENCE

JOHN BULL (to France): "Let us give him what he asks; otherwise he will only put the price up again."

From the *Amsterdamer* (Amsterdam, Holland)

THE GERMAN PEACE OFFENSIVE

BY FRANK H. SIMONDS

I. 1916-1923

NEARLY seven years ago, in the closing days of 1916, Germany had recourse to a peace offensive. Her purpose was not to obtain peace on such terms as were then available. She knew in advance that no peace proposal from her which did not frankly and fully concede evacuation of Belgium and of France would obtain a hearing. In making her gesture then and ignoring definite statements on these two subjects, she patently sought an end other than peace itself.

That end was quite obvious. She was maturing her plans for her unlimited submarine warfare and she sought at home and abroad a semblance of justification for her course. Moreover, her public was frankly pressing for peace and it was inconvenient for the German statesmen to face this domestic demand without some show of having tried to achieve peace. What Germany sought, then, was not peace, since peace was for her unattainable on any terms she was prepared to accept, but the transfer of the responsibility for the prolongation of hostilities from German to Allied shoulders.

Now, in the past month, Germany has made another peace gesture. Before she made it, the world knew, and German statesmen were fully informed, that no peace proposal could succeed which did not carry with it a promise to abandon the passive resistance in the Ruhr and accept French and Belgian occupation of the Ruhr as a fact to be faced, as long as German default upon reparations continued. Finally, every German knew that to succeed their proposal must be made directly to France and Belgium, the nations which were actually in the Ruhr.

Accordingly, when we find that Germany, so far from promising to abandon passive resistance, insisted that it must continue until the general settlement; when we discover that, instead of accepting the Ruhr

occupation as a consequence of German default (voluntary default as the Reparations Commission, by the vote of Italian, Belgian and French representatives, had declared) Germany demanded evacuation; when, finally, she addressed her note, not exclusively to Paris and Brussels, but to London, Rome, Tokio and Washington as well, we are bound to conclude that Germany was not in 1923 seeking peace, as she had not been seeking it six years before.

Moreover, this conclusion is reinforced by the character of the German proposal. Not only was the manner wholly unacceptable, but the form was patently unlikely to meet with French or Belgian approval. You can say quite accurately, then, that Germany, ostensibly in the interests of peace, addressed a note to her conquerors which was impossible in content and was, in addition, delivered in a fashion which insured its rejection.

What, then, was the German purpose? Evidently quite the same as in 1916. The German recognized that unless he surrendered the Ruhr War must go on. He was not prepared to surrender, but he was anxious to satisfy and thus to silence a rising demand in his own country for peace and he was perhaps even more anxious to put the French and the Belgians in a difficult situation with respect of the world in general.

Knowing that the French and the Belgians were bound to reject his proposals, since he meant to propose nothing acceptable, the German calculated that rejection would rouse criticism in Britain and the United States and might even lead to some British official action to restrain the French and the Belgians. In any event the breach between French and British public opinion would be widened and not impossibly American sympathy with France might be weakened.

That, as I see it, was the whole design of the German note. It was an effort to cover a determination to continue the con-

flict by a public document which, purporting to propose peace, actually contributed to prolong war, by the simple device of proposing peace on impossible terms. The German hoped that this note might awaken applause and even stir action in London, Rome and Washington. He was certain that it would find approval at home, but even more certain was he that it would arouse anger and achieve rejection in the capitals immediately concerned.

Unfortunately for the German, the weakness of his strategy lay precisely in the fact that it was not a peace proposal. Perhaps a few people still remember that this was exactly what brought down his 1916 maneuver. When the Allied publics had read the German proposal they quite correctly concluded that there was nothing left for them but to go on fighting. And when the 1923 note had been read in all the capitals of the world the same conclusion was manifest, the conclusion that there was nothing for France and Belgium to do but to continue and that no basis was furnished for any other country to intervene and propose adjustment.

It is no secret that London would have spoken with some definiteness if only the Germans had supplied warrant. If, for example, the Germans had only proposed something that was even passably reasonable, something which offered a real basis for negotiations, given the present state of public sentiment in Britain, the government would almost certainly have been driven to make at least a gesture, to address some sort of communication to Paris and Brussels. But when London read the German note it knew that there was nothing that could be done in the premises. Once more the Germans had left their friends without ammunition and put all the weapons in the hands of their enemies.

This was exactly what happened two years ago, when the discussion of reparations was to the fore and the Reparations Commission had finally fixed the sum Germany was to pay. Then, as now, London was ready, if Germany made any sensible proposal, to insist that it have a hearing. But instead the Germans sent a communication so offensive in tone, so inadequate in character, that even Lloyd George was obliged to abandon the idea of urging adjustment and join in an ultimatum to Berlin.

Many similar instances will spring to mind, like the famous Rapallo Treaty

between Germany and Russia signed at the moment the Genoa Conference was assembling. That treaty consolidated all the continental states, save Italy—that is, the states which were either allied to the victors in the war or created by the treaties—in support of French policy, doomed the conference itself to failure, and ultimately hastened the fall of Lloyd George, who went to Genoa eager to bring about a general peace in Europe.

One may accept it as axiomatic that the German is incapable of exploiting a favorable situation or taking advantage of a friendly feeling in any country. So far as one can judge, whenever the German sees any evidence of sympathy abroad or any sign of a favorable moment, he undertakes, not to profit by the situation, but rather, neglecting all the conditions, which are unmistakable, to return to his own program and destroys precisely the sentiment which he undertakes to exploit.

No matter what the feeling in the world was at the moment the German sent his note, it was not a feeling which could be employed to enable the German to escape from the payment of all but a derisory fraction of what he owed and could pay. But that, after all, is what the German actually undertook to do.

II. WHY DID HE DO IT?

Now, before turning to the terms proposed by the Germans, which really do not call for any protracted examination, it is essential to follow the German action a little further. Why did the German make the proposal he did make and why did he make it the way he did make it? For the very simple reason that the German was seeking not peace but victory, just as he was in 1916.

The German did not propose to pay a possible sum, because he was not prepared to pay a possible sum. He knew, none better, that if he should propose a sum which was accepted, and thereafter should undertake to default, as he had before, to evade payment, then the public sentiment of the world would be outraged and no one would lift a finger, no matter what happened to him.

He had to be careful, then, to propose a sum so small that if by any combination of circumstances it were actually accepted payment would be worth while to get rid

of the nuisance value of the disturbance. He had to propose a sum so small that if it were accepted and he had to pay it, he would still be better off than the nations he had wronged, particularly France, burdened with reparations and foreign debts. He had, in fact, to stay within limits which would still enable him to win the war, so far as France was concerned.

In a word, we are back in 1916 again and the German is proposing peace. He does not mention evacuation of Belgium, because he means to stay there. He talks vaguely of evacuating France, save for minor frontier "rectifications," which means that he intends to annex the Briey iron basin. The two things stand on all fours; the strategy is the same. Both times the German seeks victory, expects conflict, but is ready to accept peace on his own terms, since they provide measurable triumph.

You must see once for all what the German is up to, what he has been up to ever since the peace treaty was made. He is seeking to escape paying the price of his devastations. He is aiming to leave this burden on French, Belgian and Italian shoulders, but, in the nature of things, mainly upon French. It was to bankrupt France, to crush her industrially and financially, that he resorted to devastations. France has run to the edge of the precipice of bankruptcy in restoring them and Germany has paid practically nothing—less than the amount, she has taken from the world by selling it marks and then depressing their value by inflation.

It was not stupidity, clumsiness, much less madness, that prompted the German's proposal. He had calculated how much he could pay while still bearing the burden lightly himself and at the same time lift no considerable weight off French shoulders. So he offered to pay a sum which, when distributed, would give France about enough to pay what she owes to the British or to the Americans, but would leave her to pay all of the costs of reconstruction and the costs of one of her two large foreign debts.

I am going to analyze the figures in a moment, but now it is enough to say that if the German proposal had been accepted, 60,000,000 Germans, who suffered no devastations, would have had a lighter load to carry than 40,000,000 Frenchmen, with their devastations. Yet it was Germany and not France which was responsible for the war. It was Germany which invaded France

through Belgium in defiance of a treaty obligation and was thus able to reach the industrial region of France in the first days of the war and keep the fighting in this region for four long and wasting years.

And, to emphasize still more definitely the character of the German offer, it was accompanied by proposals for the acceptance by France of solemn pledges on the part of Germany that she would not again break her pledge, as she had in 1914. She had pledged herself to respect the neutrality of Belgium, but notwithstanding this pledge she had invaded Belgium in 1914 because the shortest road to Paris led through Belgium. Now, she was prepared to give new paper promises to replace the old, with vague references to guarantees by the League of Nations, which has no standing army and no control over any standing army and could do nothing if Germany invaded France and Belgium again.

The German, then, was ready to give promises to pay something, just enough to have the semblance of reality but not enough to save France from bankruptcy, not half enough to insure France payments sufficient to meet her costs of reconstruction. Enough to enable France to pay one of two foreign debts, if, instead of applying it to ruins, she sent it to Washington or London. Similarly he was ready to give new paper pledges to respect the neutrality he had recently violated. But his pledges were to be deposited with a League of Nations which had no remedy if these were again treated as "scraps of paper."

It seems to me incredible, then, that any one could mistake the purpose of the German communication. It invited rejection because it envisaged German victory. It yielded nothing which would compromise the victory. It amounted to the cool proposal that after four years of moratorium, Germany could get scot-free of all costs of her war, so far as her victims were concerned, by the payment of a sum nominally equal to about \$7,000,000,000. But this sum, too, could only be paid provided in the first place Germany were loaned the money by the outside world. True, German property—railways and other things—was to be put up as security, but if Germany chose to default who could collect and by what means short of a new war or at least a new Ruhr war?

If, moreover, the loan failed, then Germany would be able to meet France and

Belgium with an answer and these would not get the money. But bankers the world over were agreed that such a loan would fail because there was no likelihood that a world which had recently been swindled out of upwards of \$3,000,000,000 by German mark manipulation would be ready to lend the same Germans seven billions of dollars—a sum as large as the national debt of France before the war—five billions in a lump and the additional two billions in two separate bites.

See the situation as it was: The Germans did not promise to pay save as the world lent them money and they would only pay after a four-year moratorium. If they did pay, the sole burden on their shoulders would be the \$7,000,000,000. By inflation they had got rid of their domestic debt incident to the war. To all intent and purpose it was wiped out. Assume that it might be liquidated at a billion and that Germany had already paid two billions in cash on reparations, she had taken in not less than \$3,000,000,000 by fleecing the world in mark manipulation.

Her whole debt burden, then, would be \$7,000,000,000, but that of Great Britain is \$35,000,000,000. Moreover, allowing for discounts incident to delay in the payments of what Germany offered, the sum of what she would pay, provided she honored her notes, would not be very much more in present value than what the British have undertaken to pay us on account of their war borrowings. Germany, the aggressor, would have to pay all of her victims only a billion or at most a billion and a half more than Great Britain was paying the United States already.

Even the United States, despite its short participation in the struggle, now has a burden in the way of internal debt of upwards of fifteen or sixteen billions, deduction being made for the British debt to us. Our debt burden, then, would be at least twice as great as that of Germany, if the German plan were to be accepted, and in addition the Germans expected us to find most of the money to finance their payment in accordance with their proposal.

Accept as accurate the statement that the country which pays for the war loses it and you will see once for all what the German proposal really amounted to, that is, what the strategy of the thing was, why it was put forward in the way it was—above all that it was not intended to bring peace,

save as the peace which it brought would be founded upon German victory.

III. THE PROPOSAL

We come now to the German proposal itself and it is necessary to bear in mind at this point what the legal status of the case is. Under the Treaty of Versailles the Reparations Commission fixed at \$32,000,000,000, or exactly at 132,000,000,000 gold marks, the amount Germany ought to pay, as measured by the valid claims against her. This total sum Germany accepted under threat and as a consequence of an ultimatum two years ago.

But Germany was asked to pay only on the basis of \$12,000,000,000, or again exactly upon the basis of 50,000,000,000 gold marks, the balance being held in abeyance. What Germany was asked to pay was \$500,000,000 a year, plus an export tax which has never been collected or paid and as a result does not enter into the discussion. Moreover, both as to principal and as to annual payment, this sum and rate fall inside most rational estimates of German capacity.

Yet last year Germany defaulted upon this payment, or, more exactly, applied for a moratorium, which was granted her, by special concession of the Belgians, who had a priority claim on payments and consented to a transaction over these to avoid a crisis. But meantime Germany had defaulted upon coal and other deliveries provided for in the Treaty of Versailles and representing payment in kind consequent upon German devastations, mainly in the French coal district.

At the beginning of the year Germany came forward demanding a moratorium of four years on reparations payments and a general reduction of the sum, from 132,000,000,000 gold marks. Moreover she claimed incapacity to pay, not on the total sum but upon the fraction, namely, 50,000,000,000 marks, on which payment had been demanded.

At this juncture the Reparations Commission, Italy, Belgium and France voting and Britain abstaining from voting, declared that Germany was in voluntary default in the matter of payments in kind and the Ruhr operation, itself, as the three voting nations affirmed, foreseen by the language of the Treaty of Versailles, was undertaken. This occupation of the Ruhr

by French and Belgian troops, Italian engineers joining, but the Italian participation unimportant save on the moral and legal side, as it witnessed Italy's adherence to the Belgian and French views, was met by the German passive resistance deliberately organized by the German Government.

The occupation began in the first days of January and just four months later Germany at last made a formal proposal, itself more or less in response to direct intimations from Lord Curzon, speaking for Mr. Bonar Law, that such action on Germany's part was necessary and unavoidable. But, as I have indicated, despite the positive statement made by M. Poincaré and M. Theunis, Premiers of France and Belgium, respectively, that the German proposal should be made to the occupying powers, it was in fact sent to the capitals of all Allied and Associate Powers.

Now as to the note: It opens with a declaration that Germany must continue the passive resistance in the Ruhr until the evacuation of that area is completed. This amounts to a claim that France and Belgium concede defeat in the Ruhr war, accept the German claim that their course was illegal and, finally, resign forever the single guarantee they now possess of any German performance under any agreement whatsoever.

Passing to the question of payments, the Germans propose that their total liability under the Treaty of Versailles be reduced from 132,000,000,000 gold marks to 30,000,000,000—a figure the more interesting since in Paris, in 1919, they themselves proposed a sum of 100,000,000,000 gold marks through their own representatives. In our money they ask a reduction from approximately \$32,000,000,000 to something more than \$7,000,000,000.

But there are other circumstances: The 30,000,000,000 gold marks are to be divided, 20,000,000,000 to be payable in 1927, that is, after a four-year moratorium. Thus, calculated upon present value, the 20,000,000,000 is worth in our money just under \$4,000,000,000. The balance, in billion gold mark lots, is to be payable on July 1, 1929 and 1931. But if the Germans cannot finance these last transactions, then there is to be a commission appointed to decide if, when and how payment is to be made. In a word, Germany still keeps the door open to evade payment for all but the 20,000,000,000 gold marks.

Nominally worth slightly more than

\$7,000,000,000 and actually having a present value of \$6,000,000,000, these payments are to free Germany from all financial obligations for cash payments and these are to be preceded by the evacuation of the Ruhr and, of course, followed by the evacuation of all German territory up to the frontiers fixed in the Treaty of Versailles.

Continuing, the Germans assert that this offer probably exceeds German capacity and will be possible only on the strength of foreign loans, thus indicating that the world must find the money for Germany to pay, although there are vague but alluring suggestions of security to be furnished in the shape of contributions from the industrials and all other elements in Germany. If this offer is not satisfactory, then Germany suggests the appointment of an international conference, along the lines of Mr. Hughes's proposal thrown out at the New Haven speech before the Ruhr operation began, to deal with the matter. Thus, at a single throw, Germany would wipe out all the machinery of the Treaty of Versailles, all the rights of the victors, who were rather the victims, and put the whole matter before a commission, whose findings would not be binding upon Germany, while the debtors would have surrendered all their means of collecting, even under the commission's findings.

Germany, in case a commission were appointed, would first undertake to conceal her assets. She would continue the inflation of her currency and resort to every conceivable device to defeat the commission. If, in the end, it found against her, she could appeal, reject the decision. Long, very long delays would occur, during which time nothing would be paid and new strains would be put upon France and Belgium struggling manfully to meet the costs of reconstruction out of their own resources. Moreover, Germany would at once get the Ruhr back and be in position to organize for a new war upon her bankrupt French and Belgian neighbors.

But there is not merely to be an evacuation. Much more, it is to be established in policy that there can be no further occupation, no matter what happens, although this provision is carefully camouflaged as a detail in providing that basic security which will be needed to float the loans abroad which are to furnish Germany with the money to pay her creditors. The point

is, however, that the provision of the Treaty of Versailles under which France and Belgium acted is to be set aside, thus extinguishing the last solid and tangible guarantee of German performance which remains to the victims.

Finally, on the score of security to France, Germany proposes to sign any agreement which will be reciprocal, that is, she is prepared to give France any promise not to invade French territory which is matched by a similar French promise. But—odd detail, to say the least—Germany offers no pledge that she will not, as she did in 1914, invade Belgium whenever she feels herself once more in a "state of necessity," to use the still memorable words of the period. Germany binds herself, with France, to refer all disputes to an international tribunal. But she binds herself only on paper.

Now, analyzed, the German proposal amounts to a demand that German reparations be reduced from \$32,000,000,000 to a sum having a nominal value of \$7,000,000,000 and an actual present value of no more than \$6,000,000,000. Of this only \$4,000,000,000 is offered outright and the balance is subject to review and reduction or cancellation, while all payments are conditional upon evacuation of the Ruhr in advance and the lending to Germany, after a four-years' moratorium, of the requisite moneys by foreign countries, presumably the United States and Great Britain in the main.

As a basis for security in the future, France is offered a German pledge, to be repeated by France to Germany, and the suggestion that both agree to arbitrate all differences. But, no similar proposal is made in the case of Belgium, which was invaded in 1914 despite the fact that Germany had given a pledge such as she now offers France, that she would protect, not violate, Belgian neutrality.

These stipulations, apart from the vague and wholly indefinite suggestions as to an impartial international commission to fix the reparations totals, but carrying no provision for enforcement after fixation, sum up this astonishing German document, the most astonishing single detail of which, perhaps, is the omission of any promise of security for Belgium. Can it be that the Germans, feeling that the old promise embarrassed them and prejudiced their position in the war, mean to avoid being betrayed into any such error a second time

and thus keep their hands free for the next occasion when the Belgian road to Paris beckons?

What this proposal means to France in money can be briefly told: of the \$4,000,000,000, which is alone assured, France would receive just half; of the other \$2,000,000,000, which is conditional, she would again receive half. She would thus, all told, get \$3,000,000,000. But she owes the United States and Great Britain each \$3,000,000,000, and the cost of reconstruction, already above \$4,000,000,000, will certainly amount to \$7,000,000,000.

In a word, to meet her foreign debts, incident to the defense of her soil against German attack, France will have to face a burden precisely as great as Germany now proposes for herself. But there are 60,000,000 Germans and less than 40,000,000 French and France was devastated and Germany was not. But, in addition, France will have to find another \$7,000,000,000 to repair the ruins Germany wrought in France. So the French burden is going to be far larger than the German, although there are more Germans than Frenchmen, although the wealth of Germany is greater, and, finally, although France, with her allies, won the war.

Can anyone be much surprised that the French and Belgians rejected the note summarily? Does it require any further elucidation to demonstrate that as between France and Germany, the German proposal sought to establish the fact that the victory in the war was to the German and not the Frenchman and that the policy of devastation in France had accomplished its purpose, although Germany subsequently lost the military detail of the conflict?

IV. THE FRANCO-BELGIAN REPLY

The response of France and Belgium requires little analysis because, recognizing the essential bad faith of the German communication and its unmistakable attempt to maneuver, neither the French nor the Belgian governments felt called upon to indulge in elaborate arguments or counter-proposals. The proposal made by the Germans was so totally unsatisfactory, both with respect of reparations and of security, that the two Allied premiers were not called upon to indulge in any premature declaration of their own terms.

What they did was to reiterate their

previous statement that they stood on the letter of the law. Germany was pledged under the treaty to pay France some \$16,000,000,000 and Belgium some \$3,000,000,000. Both states declared that they would not consent to reduce their shares, save only as their debts to Britain and the United States were reduced. If the United States and Britain, for example, were willing to write off the \$6,000,000,000 owed to them by France, France would in turn write off that amount of German reparations.

You have, then, a categorical declaration that neither of these two countries will agree to surrender their claims, unless their debts are cancelled. So far as France is concerned, reconstruction will cost \$7,000,000,000, allied debts another \$7,000,000,000, while France has more than another billion locked up in Belgian and Italian loans, which can hardly be called now, or ever. So if France were to get the \$16,000,000,000 to which she is entitled under the treaty, she would only get something less than a billion more than debts and reconstruction will cost her, with the possibility that the ultimate costs of reparation may take up the entire sum.

The French position is that of a man who has a claim against a debtor whose property he has had seized through the courts. The creditor has received a proposal from the debtor which is to his mind entirely inadequate and he has rejected it out of hand. Under the law he is entitled to full payment and he has announced his intention to stand upon his rights—he says, forever. What he doubtless means is, until some proposal is made which is half-way acceptable as a basis of discussion.

My judgment is that the Frenchman would regard \$7,000,000,000, the bare costs of reconstruction, as satisfactory, provided in the general transaction his foreign debts were extinguished. He might take \$6,000,000,000, although this is doubtful. But in no event will he consent to any reduction to a figure which does not permit him to pay out the total of both the costs of reparation at home and interallied debts abroad. If the Frenchman can pay \$14,000,000,000 in allied debts and reconstruction, which he must pay as the case stands to-day, then there is no reason why the richer German, whose territory was not devastated, can not pay a larger sum. No argument for the reduction of reparations is not just as sound

an argument for the reduction of French debts, with the added circumstance that France owes for defense, Germany for wanton aggression.

But the question of allied debts is not up now, because the German proposal was so unsatisfactory that it did not lead to any serious discussion of the conditions of a general settlement. When it does come up, however, there is going to be interesting contrast between the sum we insist Europe shall pay us and the sum certain of our spokesmen insist is the maximum which Germany can pay. On the basis of the recent offer Germany proposed to pay her European creditors just about half what they had to borrow in America to resist German attack.

British criticism was evoked by the manner in which the French and Belgians acted, giving the British only a day's advance on the Germans in examining the Franco-Belgian response. Yet this seems inevitable. The British having refused to go to the Ruhr with the French and Belgians, the contest is between the French and Belgians on the one hand and the Germans on the other hand. In this contest the British official position is one of neutrality.

France and Belgium have declared against intervention and also have announced that they will retire from the Ruhr only as Germany pays. But the present note opened with a demand for the evacuation of the Ruhr and, since it was addressed to all Allied and Associated Governments, openly aimed at inviting intervention. Since neither France nor Belgium was prepared to change its position, even on British advice, there was no reason for waiting long for what might not have been forthcoming and if forthcoming could not have been heeded without loss of the whole Ruhr campaign.

Moreover, if the British criticized the French manner, they could find scant praise for the German material proposals. Much of British public opinion had hoped that there would be an opening for British action, but when the German note was read it was felt that the opening did not exist. By accident or design the German had failed to offer anything like what Englishmen generally believe is possible and the manner of offering the ridiculous sum actually proposed insured curt rejection.

So far as one may judge at the moment I write, the German did not advantage

himself either in London or in Washington by his proposal. He did not achieve intervention, nor did he much prejudice the Franco-Belgian position. In offering them much less than the sum all impartial judges believed he could and should pay, the German strengthened rather than damaged their case before both audiences.

V. THE CONSEQUENCES

What, then, are to be the consequences of the German Peace Offensive? So far as one can see, the first consequence must be the prolongation of the Ruhr War. As yet there has been no decision in this conflict. The Germans have failed to get the French out because they have failed to enlist the support of any other great power. Their calculation that Britain or the United States would intervene has proven a mistaken one. Nor has anything which has yet happened led to so complete a French reverse, or to so great a change in French or Belgian public opinion, that there is any basis for expecting French withdrawal.

The French and Belgians, on their side, have failed to bring Germany to terms by their resort to force and they have both of them suffered incidental but material losses owing to the interruption of the flow of German coal to their own factories. On the other hand, the actual movement of coal is steadily increasing and even German authorities agree that in the end the French and the Belgians can get coal enough for their own domestic uses.

German resistance has been terribly expensive to Germany and is slowly but surely bringing about a crisis. The Germans are still getting coal abroad and paying for it with what remains of their depleted gold reserve. They are finding wages for the Ruhr workmen who have refused to continue operations during the Franco-Belgian occupation. Presumably the resistance can then continue, although the problem becomes more and more serious as the stocks on hand when the Allies entered the Ruhr are exhausted.

Of course, since German exports have fallen enormously, while German imports, particularly in coal, have similarly expanded, the end of resistance, if it is logically pursued, must be the ruin of Germany. But so far you have the fact attested to by the German policy that the men who control Germany believe that

meeting the Franco-Belgian terms would be more expensive than prolonging the resistance. Therefore the resistance is to be prolonged.

In a similar situation in 1916-17, after the German peace offensive had failed, the German had recourse to the unlimited submarine warfare, by which he hoped to force his enemies to accept his peace terms. By analogy, and quite naturally in the circumstances, one might reason that the Germans now plan to intensify their resistance and perhaps by multiplying the acts of sabotage and by secretly encouraging violence put a new strain upon the occupying armies and still further exasperate the section of the world which wants peace. Perhaps this is what will happen.

All depends upon elements which are difficult to calculate. The chief German objective is to get the French and the Belgians out of the Ruhr, because, while they remain, Germany sees in their hands her most important area. Sooner or later, if the occupying forces remain, Germany will have to surrender. If she surrenders while the enemy troops are in the Ruhr, then she will find it difficult in the future to evade as she has in the past.

In a word, if the French and Belgian troops remain in the Ruhr Germany will, in the end, have to pay more than she has any intention of paying. Such payment will, in fact, constitute a loss of the war, a defeat for her whole policy of evasion. But if she gets the troops out, then she will be free, having made new promises, to make new defaults. Of course, as her proposal showed, she is concerned not merely with getting the French and the Belgians out, but in establishing the principle that there can be no later occupation, even if there is a fresh default.

On the other hand, provided there is no break in the home front of Belgium or France, and there is no present show of it; and provided there be no intervention from the outside, which is similarly not now discoverable, the ultimate defeat of Germany in the Ruhr War is assured and in the end the Germans will have to accept terms which they at present regard as out of the question.

These terms will envisage an extended occupation of the Ruhr by France and Belgium, extended to march with the German payments. They assuredly will not accept the present German estimates of German capacity to pay or anything like

them. And they will hardly agree to any reduction of German reparations, save as the automatic reduction of the French and Belgian shares is balanced by a proportionate reduction of the debt France and Belgium owe to their Allies, and that of Italy as well.

Meantime we are obviously in for an intensive campaign of German propaganda. French militarism is destined to have new castigations and French imperialism to be assailed as responsible for fresh conflict and new menaces of anarchy. One has only to look back to 1916-17 to see that the same thing occurred then. German strategy must always aim now to break down the will to conquer of her foes and at the same time to stir up dissension as between France and Belgium on the one hand and their allies and associates of the war on the other.

Yet one has to remember, in the face of all of this propaganda, that had the present German proposal been accepted, France would have received not more than \$3,000,000,000 with which to meet reconstruction and foreign debt costs, while Germany, having no reconstruction costs, would have to bear a burden not much more than half as large. In a word, France would have to pay upwards of \$14,000,000,000, where Germany would pay \$7,000,000,000 and, deduction being made for the French share of the German payments, the figures would be \$11,000,000,000 for France and \$7,000,000,000 for Germany.

In addition one must remember that Germany has abolished her domestic debt by inflation, while France is staggering under a burden of more than \$20,000,000,000, apart from the costs of reconstruction and war debts abroad. Finally, it is worth recalling that while Germany offered France paper pledges for security, she did not even deign to make a similar offer to Belgium, her victim of 1914.

The simple truth is, of course, that Germany had by the end of last year reached a point where she thought she could get out from under reparations, that she calculated that the moment had come to throw off the mask and come out openly demanding a moratorium and a reduction of totals to a derisory figure. Her move was blocked by the French and Belgian entrance into the Ruhr. Thus the Ruhr became in 1923 like the Marne in 1914—the destruction of Germany's long prepared plans.

But Germany in 1923, as in 1914, did

not accept defeat as final. As she resorted to position warfare in the earlier struggle, she now had recourse to passive resistance. She had missed her great triumph, but she did not in the least despair of obtaining measurable victory in the end. And nothing short of triumph, nothing short of escape from the occupation of the Ruhr and from material payments demanded by her victims, yet enters her calculation.

Unless all signs fail, I should think that we would have several further German peace offensives before German surrender can be expected, and at the same time a new intensification of resistance in the Ruhr and of propaganda activities in the world outside. But at all events the present peace offensive has failed completely. Germany has attained nothing that she sought, save only as her propaganda agents abroad may be able to incite criticism of France and Belgium, by asserting, quite falsely, to be sure, that these countries refused a reasonable proffer of peace because they sought war, not peace. That was what happened in 1916-17 and may well be expected to happen again.

VI. THE CHESTER CONCESSION

I have left myself little space to deal with the Chester Concession and the relatively less interesting Lausanne Conference, but after all these are of comparatively little significance. As to the concession itself the campaign to acquire it has been going on for many years. As far back as the time of President Roosevelt it was in existence and he gave it that interest and that support which were natural and, it is needless to say, no more than what might be expected for so considerable an American undertaking.

In the earlier stages the effort to get the concession was opposed by the British, the French—and my impression is, by the Russians. The Germans began by opposing, but presently took a more benevolent attitude when they discovered how irritating it was to the British and the French and what possibilities it seemed to have for cementing German-American relations.

But the war came, Turkey took the German side, and all schemes and concessions fell to the ground. When the war was over Turkey had lost Syria, Palestine and Mesopotamia; she seemed in a fair way to be extinguished as a state altogether. Presently, however, the British and the French

fell out and the latter made a separate peace, through M. Franklin Bouillon. By the terms of this bargain the French revived certain concessions, bestowed before the war, concessions on which much French capital had been expended, notably the Samsun-Sivas Railway.

The Turks understood that this Bouillon bargain committed the French to support them against the Greeks and the British. For the moment they were aided by the French, but presently, at the Lausanne Conference, the French put a limit on their support and tended to agree with the British on a variety of questions, thus leaving the Turk with the impression that he had been deserted.

Accordingly the Turk in his own time had his revenge. He bestowed upon an American syndicate headed by Admiral Chester not only vast new concessions, but also some which had been allotted to France before the war, like the Samsun-Sivas Railway grant. At the same time he also generously included rights in the Mosul oil region, which had gone with the rest of Mesopotamia into a British mandate covering the new Arab Kingdom of Iraq.

Obviously the Turk had two objectives in mind. He would prefer to get American capital interested in the development of his country, for it was certain that no territorial or political designs inimical to Turkish sovereignty would lurk behind this American venture, while it was notorious that in the past similar European loans had been the entering wedges for political interference with Turkey. But also he was interested in his old game of playing the Christian powers against one another.

In this case he had used the French against the British in all the period up to the first conference of Lausanne. At Lausanne he had momentarily used the Russian, but had given up both the Russian and the French associations—the Russian because it threatened ultimate peril, the French because of the failure of the French representative at Lausanne to stand unqualifiedly with him, as he was still in dispute with the Briton over Mosul. What could be better than to give to the rich Americans a blanket concession, including Mosul, and let them fight it out with the British and, for that matter, the French?

You must perceive the realities of the Turkish situation. Wars and misrule have resulted in an incredible reduction of the

Turkish population, due in part to the practical extinction of the Armenians and the slaughter and exile of the Greek minorities. It is open to question whether in Turkey to-day, in a territory materially more extensive than France, there is a population of ten millions. This country, rich in natural resources, is almost totally undeveloped.

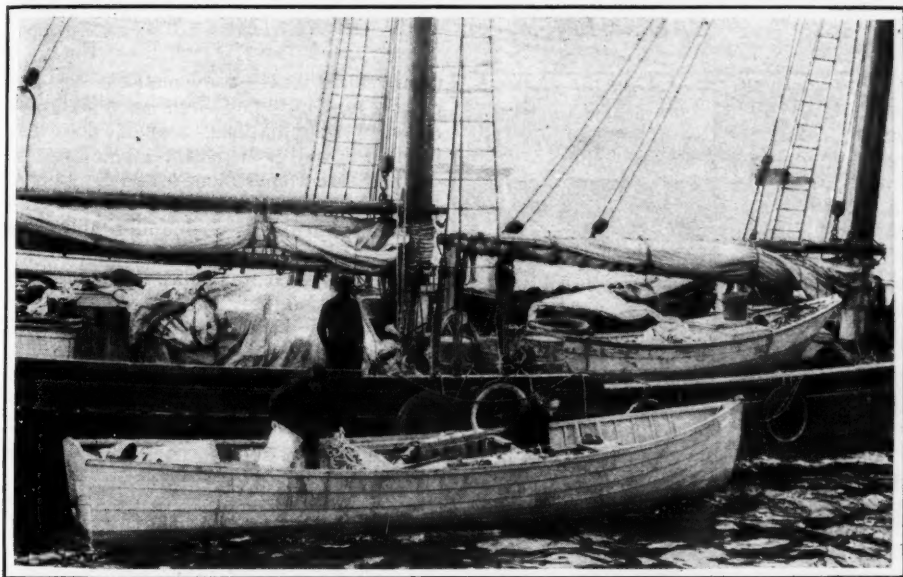
If what is left of the ancient Turkish Empire is to be saved for the Osmanli, it must have railways and every sort of public works. But if the capital were to be furnished by any European country, in the very nature of things Turkey would become economically and in a measure politically dependent upon its creditor and might even lose its independence altogether.

By contrast, if American capital were interested this political danger would be avoided, and after all the United States is the one country which might be assumed to have the necessary capital. In including within the Chester Concession the charter granted to the French for railways and in reasserting the Turkish claim to Mosul, the Turks were patently maneuvering, but under certain circumstances they could withdraw these details later.

British and French protests were naturally founded upon the fact that the Turk had conceded to Americans what belonged to Englishmen and Frenchmen and, so far, both were obviously within the rights of the protesting nations. Yet one must see quite clearly why both countries looked with something more than disapprobation upon the entrance of the United States into a field which had hitherto been exclusively the hunting-ground of European capital and, for that matter, of European politics.

It would be a mistake, however, to magnify the importance of the whole episode unduly. The United States Government is hardly likely to undertake to use force or adopt foreign methods to back such ventures as the Chester Concession. We shall not as a nation become involved in Near Eastern quarrels, nor shall we undertake to become the protector of Turkey to validate these Chester Concessions.

Whether Turkey, that is the fragment which is left of it, can be saved, or whether the process of disintegration which has gone on for so long will continue, is a matter of opinion. The regeneration, if it comes, will be a long process and the economic development of the vast empty areas will take decades.



ONE OF THE VESSELS OF THE FLEET ANCHORED OFF NEW YORK HARBOR—BEYOND JURISDICTION OF PROHIBITION OFFICIALS—ALL BELIEVED TO CARRY LIQUOR

(This is a sailing vessel from Nova Scotia, bound presumably for the Bahamas, but able to give no plausible excuse for remaining at anchor outside an American port. The men in the launch, with the powerful motor visible amidships, declared that their boat had become damaged while they were fishing and that they tied up for repairs. Prohibition officials, who were present when the photograph was taken, claim that the larger vessel holds a vast cargo of liquor and that the smaller one had come out to carry the liquor into port under cover of darkness)

THE RUM SMUGGLERS

PIRACY, MARITIME BOOTLEGGING, AND "HYJACKING"

BY JUDSON C. WELLIVER

OH, for an hour of the genius of Gilbert and Sullivan! Nothing less than the rollicking humor that inspired the big laughs of "Pinafore" and the "Pirates of Penzance" could do justice to the story of "Piracy Down to Date; Smuggling in Extraordinary," or, "Rum Running on Bootleg Row," which during recent months has been enacted along the Florida coast, off the Highlands of New Jersey, outside the harbor of New York, and in other sections of our Volsteadian littoral.

But one would want more than the humors of Gilbert and the airs of Sullivan; there would be need for a proper dash of Robert Louis Stevenson, in his very best pirate-painting mood. For rum smuggling in these later phases takes us back to the "good old" days of approved types in buccaneering. In one way, it is of course an inspiration to prodigious amusement, this spectacle of the mysterious line of rum ships lying just out-

side the twelve-mile limit which represents the utmost possible stretch of prohibition's policing authority, and defying all comers. American sovereignty really extends only to the three-mile limit, that fine, archaic reminiscence of a time when the biggest cannon on shore could throw a shot only three miles, and therefore the international lawyers fixed three miles as the limit. Now, the logical justification for that limit is about as obvious as would be the return to triremes or seventy-four gun frigates for naval warfare. But no difference; the three-mile limit generations ago got bred into the bone of international judicature, and the whole structure of law and regulations, concerning coastwise sovereignty, has been ossified around it.

"Bootleg Row" is the fleet of rum-running ships which since about the first of the present year have taken their contemptuous stand just off the entrance to New York

Harbor, defying the Eighteenth Amendment, the Volstead Act, the customs laws, and the American Government, in order to retail liquor to bootleggers willing to take the real chances. The bootleggers come out in launches, get their whisky, and under cover of darkness steal back to the coast at some unguarded point where their illegal cargo can be put ashore.

Twelve-Mile or Three-Mile Limit?

The bootleg ships have been careful latterly to keep outside the twelve-mile limit; for, while international law is agreed that the national sovereignty extends only three miles, our government has at times made a gesture in the direction of claiming some shadowy customs and patrol jurisdiction up to twelve miles. So nearly as one can learn, whenever this assumption of a twelve-mile radius has been protested by another nation, Uncle Sam has had to admit that his case would not hold water.

There has been some approach toward international consideration of a possible twelve-mile limit by agreement, for the purpose of dealing with such problems as these. The Tariff law, in Sec. 581, provides that customs officers may board incoming ships four leagues off coast, but that is merely an

arrangement for the convenience of customs officers and incoming ships' companies, to expedite examinations, and it does not imply any waiver of the three-mile rule.

The State Department asked London to agree that vessels might be boarded and searched within twelve miles; but His Majesty's government was as adamant in its refusal as it was polite in the mode of communicating it. The Canadian Great Lakes ports have cleared vessels with liquor, for United States ports, and this has been protested against by our government. The matter is still pending, but it is hoped that this practice will be stopped. Likewise, our government has suggested an interchange of information regarding issuance of clearance papers to vessels of one country, intending to make ports closely contiguous to the other country, and carrying cargoes that the other country would regard as contraband. This phase is now in process of diplomatic discussion.

Happening to be engaged in a shady transaction, and not caring to ask unnecessarily for the support of their home governments, the rum ships have preferred not to stand too insistently on their three-mile rights; but thus far they have all the better of this argument. A few months ago some of them were seized outside the three-mile but inside the twelve-mile limit; and they were quite promptly ordered released. The good right arm of Volstead can unquestionably reach out as far as three miles; beyond that, up to twelve miles, there is just enough possibility of troublesome consequences to inspire the bootleg captains with discretion; so they have dropped back of the twelve-mile line. There, showing the British flag whenever they seemed to be under inspection, and frequently changing the names painted on their sterns, they have held the fort, sold their wares to whatever adventurers came out to barter, and taken good hard cash at from \$50 to \$65 a case for a highly dubious, dilute and synthetic article of Scotch whisky.

The theory is that, as the manufacture, export, and sale of whisky are legitimate under British law, a British ship in international waters is committing no offense if it hauls a cargo of liquor to this side and retails it to whoever comes to buy. It is doubtful if such rich rewards were ever hung up for smuggling as have been offered since prohibition came into effect. Whisky at \$12 per bottle, and a market ready to absorb all



WHERE RUM SMUGGLING THRIVES

(New York Harbor and the Florida coast are the two principal centers where foreign liquor is illegally landed)

offerings, present an inducement to the enterprise of ultra-liberal minded persons, too tempting to be resisted. Of course an American ship in this business would be violating American law, and would be promptly seized and condemned, whether captured inside or outside of territorial waters; but vessels under foreign flags claim absolute immunity.

An air-tight patrol of the coast waters, by small craft in such numbers that they could pick up the small boats which go from shore to bring in the contraband, could ruin the business over-night. But to establish such a patrol in one area would probably only have the effect of driving the Row away to some other section of the coast, where the traffic would be promptly resumed. More than this, the organization of an adequate patrol would be a large and expensive operation. The prohibition authorities insist, however, that the difficulties have been greatly exaggerated. Commissioner Haynes assures me that he would not need more than a small number of good, fast, seaworthy boats to put down the traffic in New York Harbor and off the New Jersey coast. His lieutenants in immediate charge have



PORTION OF A CARGO WORTH HALF A MILLION DOLLARS AT BOOTLEG PRICES

(The inspector has slit open one of the burlap bags and removed a bottle of whisky and one of gin)

asked for a few airplanes, to scout and report on craft moving suspiciously in the direction of Bootleg Row, so that they could be picked up by the patrol.

The average landsman has a rather incomplete idea of patrolling thus closely any very wide area of the ocean. It is a problem quite similar to that which confronted the Allied naval authorities in fighting the submarines in the narrow waters of the English Channel and the Irish Sea. The bootleggers do most of their business at night, when the airplane would be of comparatively little use for observation. Even by day, a low-lying launch is visible from no great distance; and the necessity for overhauling and examining all the small craft chasing about the bootleg area would involve a good many "water hauls." To get convicting evidence it would be necessary to capture the bootlegging boats with contraband aboard; and it is quite simple to throw overboard the evidence. This is supposed to have been done many times.

Modern Piracy

Reference to the similarity between submarine-chasing and rum chasing brings to mind an analogy between booze piracy and the good old-fashioned article that used to be practiced on the Spanish Main. The



PART OF THE PROHIBITION NAVY, AT THE RIGHT, AND ONE OF ITS CAPTIVES

(The *Hahn* was built for submarine chasing, so there was no escape when the British sailing vessel *Grace and Edna* was found within the three-mile limit with a cargo of foreign liquor)

Florida coast is one of the favorite bootleg zones, because it is so convenient to Cuba and the Bahamas. If you will stir up the sediment at the bottom of your more or less vague recollections of history in the exploration and colonization epoch, you will recall that the Spaniards used to loot the temples and shrines of Peru and Mexico, load their spoils on fat, tubby, square-rigged ships which in the pirate stories are always referred to as galleons, and haul the stuff back to Spain by way of the Straits between Cuba and Florida. You will further recall that enterprising British navigators, with occasional French and Dutch to reinforce them, were wont to intercept these squadrons of treasure galleons, capture as many as they could, sink the rest, and send the booty home instead of to Spain.

It was a proceeding fraught with high adventure, basis of most of the literature of piracy. A certain Spanish king, conceiving that he could stop it, sent Ponce de Leon, not to find the fountain of everlasting youth, but to select a strategic location and build a Spanish military and naval base from which the pirates could be fought off. This was the beginning of St. Augustine, oldest of American cities; and present-day piracy along the Florida coast follows remarkably similar lines to that of four centuries ago.

The rum runner takes his rum boat to Bimini, or to Nassau, or perhaps to Cuba, loads a cargo, and pays cash. Then he starts for the Florida coast, his preference being for overcast and moonless nights. He confronts two dangers. The prohibition officers may capture him, in which case he loses both cargo and liberty; or maybe the "hyjackers" will get him. A hyjacker is a rum pirate. His game is to overhaul the rum smuggler and take his rum away from him. The smuggler being himself a criminal, cannot well appeal for governmental protection. His only chance is to carry as heavy an armament and as scrappy a crew as he can enlist, hoping to fight his way through. Some of the battles between smugglers and hyjackers have been of the most desperate sort, entire crews in several cases having been murdered.

Hyjacking is practiced, it must be explained, by land as well as by sea; it is strictly an amphibious profession. The hyjacker by land is commonly equipped with a fast motor car and accompanied by two or three thoroughly seasoned desperadoes. Their system is to spy out and spot the

trucks or cars hauling booze about the country, hold them up on country roads at night, and get away with their cargoes. The hyjacker is likely to pose as a customs officer at sea or a prohibition agent by land, and thus in the livery of Volstead to serve the cause of Demon Rum.

The Prohibition Agent: Exposed to Temptation and Danger

These smuggling and hyjacking operations have gradually developed from crude and simple beginnings in the early days of the dry millennium, into extended operations. Many big bootleg operators own their ships; ditto the hyjackers. On both sides, it is a game in which all kinds of bribery and corruption are resorted to; your prohibition or customs officer needs a conscience that never misses fire, and a total paralysis of all pocket-book sensibilities, if he is to resist corruption. He must be ready for any desperate adventure, with excellent chances of getting a knife in his midriff or a bullet in his back when he is least expecting it.

A recent list showed the names of thirty-one prohibition agents murdered. Not by any means all these officials have been above suspicion; quite a company of them in fact have fallen. But on the whole, considering the dangers and temptations of the occupation, they have probably panned out about as well as lawyers or farmers or Senators or union-labor officials would have done in similar circumstances.

Pirate? Or Merely Free Trader?

To clarify the legal element in this business, it is necessary to say a word about the development of maritime law during the uncounted centuries since governments began fighting against piracy, and trying to establish a working compromise between the idea that the high seas belong to all the nations, and the other idea that every nation is entitled to control its commercial relations. There is a lot to be said for the pirates and their contribution to making civilization possible. They were the original free traders; natural-born anti-monopolists.

Some day, a tireless and curious-minded investigator will come along who will do tardy justice to the pirates. He will start with the beginnings of the history of commerce by sea, showing that the early nations were almost without exception isolationists. Every people regarded themselves as the chosen. International commerce was

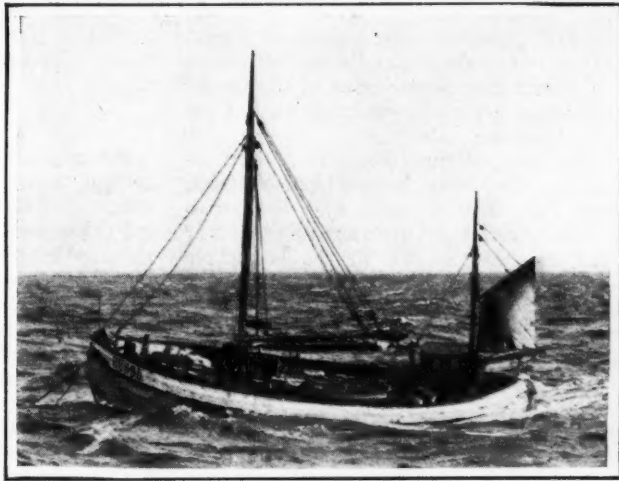
severely restricted; monopolies were exercised by the state or parcelled out among the favorites of the sovereign. The rest of the people found themselves being plucked by the monopolists, whether as consumers who wanted their imported wares cheap, or as traders who wanted to share in the business.

So the traders and ship owners of one country were likely to be regarded by their own government as doing a legitimate business, while the neighboring government would regard them as pirates. The Carthaginian ships and merchants that insisted on trading with the Roman Provinces about the Mediterranean despite the hostile Roman statutes, were rough counterparts of Bootleg Row to-day. Or to take a more modern instance, when Spain attempted to monopolize the commerce of the Americas, and the English, Dutch and French shippers refused to recognize the monopoly and invaded that part of the world looking for good trades, the Spanish Government treated them as pirates; but the British, Dutch and French Governments gave them every possible encouragement. The wars of that epoch were largely the result of conflict over the big question of the right to trade.

But I suppose a modest piece about Bootleg Row hardly affords a forum from which to present a new analysis of the rise of civilization. The booze pirates are undoubtedly a bad lot, entitled to no benefit of the glamor which invests the sturdy old heroes of a worthier brigandage.

How the Smuggler Operates

A British ship, let us assume for illustration, goes into Glasgow and takes on 20,000 cases of Scotch. When he has loaded up, the captain takes to the port authorities the documents which show his cargo, and asks for clearance papers. On a proper showing, these are issued to him. They constitute the British authorities' certification as to what his boat contains, and where it is going. If he asked clearance for New York with such a cargo, he could not get in. So



A NORWEGIAN VESSEL WHICH SAILED ALL THE WAY ACROSS THE ATLANTIC, AND THEN REMAINED FOR WEEKS OUTSIDE OF PORT!

he asks clearance for, let us say, Nassau, in the Bahamas, off the Florida Coast. Nassau is a British port, and it is perfectly legitimate for a British ship to haul 20,000 cases of whisky to a British port. So the papers are issued and the ship sails out of Glasgow.

But if its 20,000 cases are designed for the bootleg traffic off New York, it doesn't go to Nassau. Instead, it goes straight across the Atlantic and joins the Row off the Ambrose Channel. Here it retails the cargo to the bootleggers, and then goes on to Nassau, and gets a new set of clearance papers authorizing it to return in ballast to Glasgow. From the point of view of British maritime law, this completes the voyage in a regular and correct fashion, and the operation can now be repeated.

St. Pierre-Miquelon Acquire New Importance

As a matter of fact, the bootlegging off New York is supposed to be carried on by ships which cleared from the United Kingdom to less remote ports than Nassau. In the early days of the trade a vessel would clear from a British port for Halifax, come to the New York or New England coast, discharge its cargo, and run back to Halifax on the way home. But the Province of Nova Scotia went dry, and put an end to this procedure. Then the rum smugglers discovered the little Islands of St. Pierre-Miquelon, which embrace, in less than 100 square miles of area, all that remains of the

once imperial French domain in North America. They are just a group of jagged granite rocks which rear themselves out of the stormy, fog-swept region of the Grand Banks, and are headquarters for the French fishing industry.

The story of the Islands is itself a romance. They have changed back and forth from French to British, and British to French sovereignty with almost every war between these nations in the last three hundred years. Oddly enough, they have been particularly prized by France, and the Paris government has repeatedly made diplomatic sacrifices in order to retain them. This is because the fishing grounds afford the best possible training for sailors, of whom the French navy is always in great need. So the French fisheries based on St. Pierre-Miquelon have been encouraged systematically with subsidies; but despite all efforts it has been well nigh impossible to keep the people from moving away to French Canada.

The bootleggers, driven out of Halifax, saw that St. Pierre-Miquelon would serve their purpose just as well; so our captain, sailing from Glasgow for Bootleg Row, may find it more convenient to clear for St. Pierre, run direct to New York, and, after he has disposed of his cargo there, go back to St. Pierre to complete his papers before sailing for Glasgow. The prohibition authorities in Washington believe that much

of the rum that has been smuggled into New York and New England of late, got away from Great Britain on St. Pierre clearance papers.

The Bahamas as a Smugglers' Paradise

Perhaps the most picturesque of the rum-smuggling centers are Nassau and Bimini. If ever the pirates come into their own, and get the recognition which I contend is due them as the real founders of civilized society, it will require tight squeezing to get in all the monuments to which the Bahamas will be entitled. Nearly all the first-class pirates that history, tradition and romance have recognized, operated in the Bahamas at one time or another. New Providence, headquarters of the group, has been passed back and forth between the Spanish and British, always as an incident to buccaneering operations of the old wars, so many times that it is really difficult to compile them. During our Civil War Nassau, on the Island of New Providence, was headquarters of the cotton-smuggling operations off the Florida coast, just as it is now of rum-smuggling. In fact a good deal of the important law of international trade by sea was written around this cotton-smuggling trade of Civil War days, and has come to be accepted by the maritime world.

The tradition of living by a more or less illegitimate traffic is as old as the settlement of the Island. A prohibition officer who recently visited Nassau tells me that a little way back from the docks is a long row of liquor stores and warehouses. Between these and the water front a high board fence has been erected, shutting off the view. The liquor comes from Scotland, if it is the real stuff, or from Cuba, if it is of the vile synthetic sort compounded of molasses-alcohol, coloring and flavoring matter. In the big warehouses behind the board fence, colored women are constantly employed sewing together pyramid-shaped burlap bags, in each of which are placed six quart bottles of whisky; three at the bottom, two above, and one at the top. These are easily packed in the hold, or even on the deck of a small vessel, are readily and quickly unloaded, and in case of necessity can be tossed overboard without creating much commotion.

Small boats, and some that are not so small, owned by the bootleggers, come out to Nassau, take on cargoes of these bags of whisky, and clear for Bimini. Bimini is the

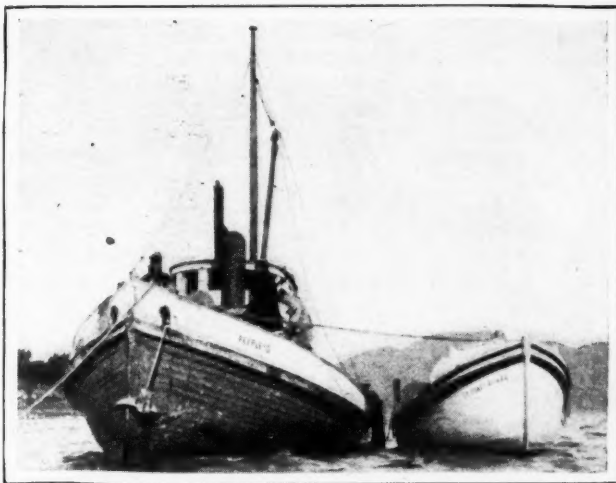


THE TWO-MASTED SCHOONER "VIKING," ON WHICH PROHIBITION OFFICIALS CLAIM THEY FOUND WHISKY VALUED AT \$500,000.

Island of the Bahamas nearest the Florida coast, only a few miles off West Palm Beach. In fact it is so handy that in the season airplane service is more or less regularly maintained between the Island and the coast, and sufferers from particularly acute thirst are taken over by air in about half an hour. The boats which clear from Nassau for Bimini of course are really destined for the Florida coast. Sometimes they anchor outside the three-mile limit, and small boats come out to buy their wares, precisely as at Bootleg Row. Some, again, boldly sail under cover of darkness straight for the Florida coast, where there are many secluded landing places, and sell their cargoes over the side to bootleggers who are awaiting them. The neighborhood of West Palm Beach, Fort Lauderdale, and the great coconut groves south of Miami have been particularly infested with this traffic.

There are conflicting stories about the attitude of Nassau people toward this trade. Prohibition agents in disguise have lived and worked among the bootleggers, the hyjackers and the liquor merchants all through this smuggling area, and are thoroughly familiar with the intricacies of the business. They insist that substantially the entire population in and around Nassau is in league with the business, and that the region is highly dangerous for people suspected of reporting to Commissioner Haynes. Once a prohibition officer left Nassau by seaplane; and the next time a plane landed a passenger he was mobbed!

The Bahamas impose a considerable tax on imports and exports of liquors, the proceeds of which go into the public revenues. From these, the harbors, towns and roads are being improved, a good deal of labor is employed, and naturally the traffic has a strong support. The question of coöperating with the American government to put it down has been discussed in the Provincial Assembly of the Islands, but thus far nothing satisfactory, from the viewpoint of the prohibition people, has been forthcoming.



A SAN FRANCISCO COAST-GUARD LAUNCH AND ITS PRIZE
(The trawler *Peerless*, at the left, was loaded with smuggled cases of liquor, which had been taken from a larger vessel outside the three-mile limit)

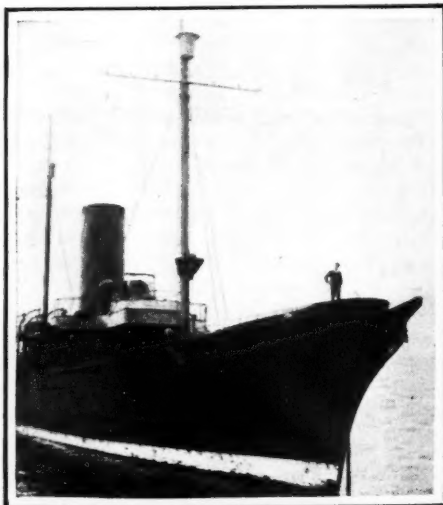
Some International Aspects

In connection with the legal phases, it is explained that corrupt officials at some foreign ports coöperate with the smugglers by issuing two sets of clearance papers. A captain sailing from one of these ports, with a cargo of five thousand cases, carries one set of papers which show that he is sailing in ballast to the United States; another set, which show that he is sailing in cargo to a foreign port. For example, he might sail from Nassau for Bimini, but instead of going to Bimini might unload his cargo on the Florida coast.

If overhauled at sea, he would display his papers entitling him to go into Bimini, and his character would be assured. The prohibition officer might be morally certain that the cargo was intended for the Florida coast, but the papers would show it a legitimate transaction by a British ship between two British ports. Having eluded the officers and unloaded his cargo, the captain could then destroy this set of papers, and, on the other set, which certifies him to be sailing in ballast to an American port, boldly enter an American harbor, take on supplies, and prepare for the return voyage. Several instances of vessels carrying such double sets of clearance papers, have been run down. A vessel boarded at sea, and which can show no clearance papers at all, is in law a pirate and can be treated as such, if it has contraband aboard.

The legal questions relating to registry, clearance, and rights at sea are very complicated. There is some disposition among the prohibition enforcement people to protest that the British Government serves a very hard sauce for the American goose, but declines to feed it to the British gander. For instance, it is claimed that quite recently an American ship carrying guns in barrels, presumably destined for the Irish revolutionists, was seized off the Irish coast, well outside the three-mile limit, and condemned.

The prohibition folks insist that the case was absolutely parallel to the one that would be presented if they should seize, and the courts should condemn, the Bootleg Row ships now lying off New York. And they are inclined to complain because when they did this a few months ago, the American authorities promptly released the rum ships. They had been seized outside the three-mile limit, and when they were released they disappeared for a short time, to turn up at the new stand, just outside the twelve-mile limit. It is further complained that in the fisheries cases England has never, in practice, recognized the inviolability of sea rights beyond the three-mile limit; and that France, in her colonial administration, has not hesitated to pick up and condemn vessels whose business did not appeal to her, even outside the three-mile line.



THE STEAM YACHT "ISTAR," DECLARED BY PROHIBITION OFFICIALS TO BE THE MOTHER SHIP OF THE RUM FLEET

A Visit to the Rum Fleet

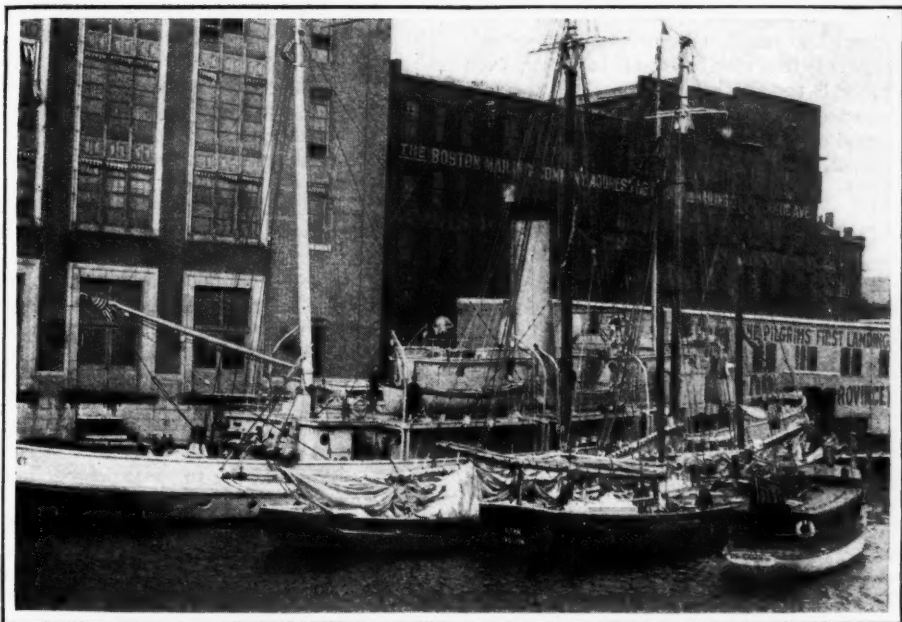
The number of vessels constituting Bootleg Row has varied from time to time. It has been as high as eleven, and as low as five or six. The steamer *Istar*, once a private yacht belonging to an American, seems to be the mother ship of the fleet. She is a very fine boat of probably 3500 tons, English registry, from Glasgow. Apparently she came directly from Glasgow to her station in Bootleg Row. A prohibition patrol boat, shortly after her appearance, picked up a launch that was carrying 100 cases from the *Istar* to shore, and among the loot found a letter from a member of the *Istar's* crew. It disclosed that the vessel had made no intermediate stop between Glasgow and the Row; that she had brought 20,000 cases of Scotch, and at that time had sold only about 4000 cases, business being rather bad.

On April 19 last an assistant district attorney of New York, with a company of newspaper men and some prohibition agents, went out on a cutter to inspect the Row. There were on that day six bootleg boats in sight, of which three were identified: the *Istar*; the tanker *Warszawa*, of 3000 tons, from London; and four two-masted schooners, one of them the *M. M. Gardner*. The *Gardner* was seized a year ago outside the three-mile limit and brought into port, but was shortly released on the ground that she had violated no American law.

The authorities assume that the *Istar* is the chief supply boat, and her commander the admiral of the fleet. It is generally believed that all the bootleg ships, though carrying the British flag and registered as British, are American owned. The *Warszawa* is understood to have brought about 20,000 cases; the schooners, much smaller cargoes. At the end of March there were eleven ships on the Row, and it is understood that they are constantly coming and going with liquor cargoes.

Should Our Navy Coöperate?

Palmer Canfield, prohibition director in New York, declares that with a few fast patrol boats in charge of the Coast Guard, and two or three airplanes, he could prevent any landings of liquor and so break up the Row. Of course, the question constantly asked is, why the Navy does not coöperate to suppress the bootlegging trade. One answer is that Congress has made no appropriation or authorization for this service by



A SCENE IN BOSTON HARBOR—TWO SEIZED VESSELS IN THE CENTER WITH A COAST-GUARD CUTTER AT THE LEFT AND A CUSTOMS BOAT AT THE RIGHT

the Navy; and further, suppressing of rum-running does not appeal to the dignified sensibilities of the Navy.

However, the President has recently had before the Cabinet the question of whether a procedure can be devised for utilizing the Navy in this connection. A squadron of destroyers playing their searchlights at night around the bootleg ships, a few airplanes watching the waters by day, and a small number of fast cutters to prevent landing liquors, would undoubtedly break up the Row in a short time.

The Bootlegger's Life Not Always Happy

The bootleg ships seem thus far to be reasonably safe, as regards their legal status; but they have no insurance against the hy-jackers. These gentry are not worrying about registry, clearance, continuous voyage and ultimate destination, and such-like legalistic details. They are the real buccaners, and they provide an ample element of adventure in the life of the rum runner. A few weeks ago a good-sized boat from Nova Scotia, the *Patricia M. Dehan*, which apparently had brought a liquor cargo for the Row, was found floating, with sails set, off the Jersey Highlands. When boarded

she was found to have been abandoned; her deck was strewn with exploded cartridges, and a gasoline speed boat was tied alongside. Her crew had disappeared. To this day the affair is a mystery.

There are two possible explanations. Probably she was hijacked: boarded by rum pirates who had come out on pretense that they wanted to buy, and then had seized the ship, killed the crew, and made off with both rum and money. A rum ship that has retailed 20,000 cases at \$60 per case, and has the cash in hand, is a fat and alluring prize. Theoretically, there would be something like \$1,200,000 locked up in the Captain's big safe. The hijackers might have got it; but it is also quite possible that a mutinous faction of her own crew might have murdered their officers, taken the money and escaped.

An equally mysterious tale of rum piracy came from the Massachusetts coast. The attendants at a remote off-shore lighthouse heard gun-fire out at sea, ultimately developing the volume of a minor naval engagement. A day or two later eight bodies washed ashore at Vineyard Haven. A steamer, the *John Dwight*, loaded with bottled ale, drifted for some time, when its

boilers blew up and it sank. Of the bodies picked up, one had been fearfully burned; three of the men seemed to have been clubbed to death; the others, to have drowned. All the evidence was that it was a case of piracy, and that the pirates had escaped in the fog.

A Canadian Leak

One of the curious incidental phases of the bootleg traffic is reported from Quebec. That Province is not dry, but has a dispensary law under which the state controls the liquor business. The government imports liquor for its dispensary trade, selling at an advance of about \$4 per quart. A thriving bootleg trade over the border to New York is constantly going on, and a Quebec visitor in the States recently expressed the hope that the States would continue dry, because Quebec was getting a square yard of good concrete road out of its profit on every quart of liquor that went to the American bootleggers; and he added that the good roads movement was going ahead under a splendid impetus. British Columbia also has a liquor dispensary act, and there the bootleggers are said to compete with the Government. By dint of a little well-directed bribery, it is asserted, they get liquors from the authorities on the pretense that they are to be shipped to Mexico. But as soon as they are released from bond they turn up in the local trade, or are run across into the States.

Quantity and Quality of Smuggled Liquor

Now as to the quality of the Rum Row liquor. It is a good deal better than most of the imitation liquors which are purveyed along the Florida coast. The Florida liquor for the most part is an unholy concoction of cheap alcohol, flavors and coloring. The Rum Row booze is nearly all real Scotch, but it is cheap, raw and new, made for the American trade. The prohibition authorities calculate that in the last year probably a hundred thousand gallons have come in by way of Bootleg Row, and declare that not over two million gallons was exported from the entire United Kingdom to North America. This compares with one hundred and thirty million gallons consumed in this country in a year before prohibition.

The notion that gargantuan quantities of liquor get into this country under diplomatic privilege—the right of diplomats to import what they want regardless of our

law—has been widely disseminated, and the facts vastly exaggerated. Indubitably, the privilege of serving liquors has impressively heightened the social popularity of the embassies and legations; also, increased their social expenses. Doubtless, too, the privilege of distributing their compliments in the form of an occasional quart, or even case, of real old stuff, has enabled some minor legations to inaugurate an era of good feeling. But the truth about diplomatic liquor is, on the whole, that every Washington bootlegger—and he is legion, by the way—has a fine, circumstantial fable about how he gets his through diplomatic channels. They just merely don't, that's all.

Determination of the national administration to enforce the law has been reiterated many times, and despite the criticisms of some drys and the protestations of wets whose ox has been gored, the campaign has made great progress. The amount of real liquor getting in from foreign parts is really insignificant compared to pre-Volstead days; while the godless quality of the imitation concoctions which are purveyed under forged labels, and the disastrous results from their consumption, are more and more discouraging the drinkers.

So far as it has yet been analyzed, the recent decision of the Supreme Court permitting American vessels to handle liquors outside the three-mile limit, and forbidding either American or foreign vessels bringing it within the three-mile line, seems unlikely particularly to affect smuggling, maritime rum running, and hijacking. Much more serious is the repeal of the State prohibition enforcement act by New York. With its enormous market, its ample supplies of capital for such adventures and its equally ample number of people ready for any enterprise that promises handsome profits, New York has been the hardest nut for the enforcement authorities.

With the whole responsibility for enforcement unloaded on the Federal officials, it will become a still more difficult problem; and if enforcement there shall break down to such an extent as to make the whole prohibition system either a demonstrated failure or excessively expensive, the consequences must be extremely demoralizing. The secession of the great metropolitan State which contains one-tenth of the country's population must obviously mark the beginning of something like a new epoch in the experiment of enforcing prohibition.

BOOTLEG IMMIGRANTS

BY HON. JAMES J. DAVIS

(Secretary of Labor)

THIRTY THOUSAND Chinese are waiting in Cuba to-day, watching for a chance to be smuggled into the United States. They are willing to pay from \$100 to \$2500 a head to anyone who will accommodate them.

All they ask is that some boat bound for our coast take them aboard and then on some dark night set them ashore on the mainland, preferably the Florida coast.

Is it any wonder, then, with such inducements as these, that the "bootleg immigrant" business is flourishing? In many ways it has the whiskey bootleg game badly beaten. And then, of course, the two lines fit nicely together.

A short time ago we investigated a case which had aroused our suspicions and finally got a confession from a Jewish candy-factory owner, showing that he had brought in by this means an entire family of his own relatives at a cost of nearly \$6000. In order to recoup himself he was holding these relatives under what amounted to peonage conditions at labor in his candy factory.

Many of these bootleg immigrants fall into our hands, in one way and another, but doubtless thousands of them each year reach their intended destinations in our larger cities. It is impossible with the limited force available to patrol our long coast and border lines, and once they get among their fellow countrymen here, it is very difficult indeed to pick them up and deport them. Our laws are such that if a Chinese person, belonging to the coolie class, enters the United States, even though such entry is illegal and the man allies himself with a Chinese mercantile establishment, it is practically impossible subsequently to effect his deportation, as such Chinese person finds little difficulty in producing witnesses to testify as to his legal initial entry. In New York City the various Tongs take care of this and similar illegal activities to the entire satisfaction of the newly arrived Chinaman who, without the

expert advice of the Tong, would surely face deportation.

A few months ago a deputy sheriff in prowling among the inlets and islands that abound on the west coast of Florida came across twenty excited Chinamen on one of these wild islands. Investigation developed the fact that they had been landed from a motor boat the night before, after the run across from Cuba. Evidently, in their haste to discharge their live cargo and make a quick get-away, the smugglers—who had collected from \$100 to \$300 a head—mistook this island for the mainland. The poor Chinamen were left marooned and readily fell into our net. There was nothing to do but pack them up and ship them all back to China. Mind you, however, these deportation costs are all at the expense of the United States Government.

But sometimes the bootlegger's contract calls for delivery at New York or some other point distant from the Florida coast. This means more trouble and risk and of course involves a bigger fee.

Formerly the regular railroad trains were largely used to transport these men. But by working in coöperation with the trainmen, we have made that practice almost too dangerous for further use, and the motor truck is now, apparently, the favorite means of transportation.

One day last fall a party of four Washingtonians were returning by automobile from a vacation spent in Florida. As they left Charleston, South Carolina, they noticed ahead of them a covered truck with curtains tightly drawn. They also noticed that a touring car followed close in the wake of the truck. They gave little thought to the outfit, however, and passed on ahead. The next day, after stopping off at several points and getting a late start in the morning, the tourists found the truck again ahead of them. And still the touring car followed close behind. This time they looked the outfit over a little more carefully, and not being entirely unmindful of

the whiskey-smuggling operations said to be in operation over the roads leading northward from Florida, they decided to keep an eye on the outfit, to satisfy their curiosity.

Just at dark that evening, the truck had a breakdown and the touring car threw its searchlight ahead so the rays would fall on the truck wheel that was being repaired. The actions of the crew aroused further suspicions and the tourists went on into Richmond and reported the matter to the police.

A raid netted a number of Chinamen, on their way to New York via France, Cuba, and the Florida coast.

An Organized Traffic

We have evidence which forces us to the conclusion that this traffic is organized and directed by a master hand or group. But whether these "higher-ups" are located in France, Cuba or the United States, we are not as yet prepared to state.

The methods of getting these bootleg immigrants in, vary with the locality and the circumstances. On the Mexican border all that is necessary is to wade across the Rio Grande or walk across an imaginary line on the desert. It is out of the question for us to guard this almost uninhabited border. So we concentrate on the points where the highways converge. No one can get very far in that territory unless he strikes the main highways. But here and there crooked ranchmen, or rather men keeping ranches as a blind, serve as agents on the underground railway and this smuggling of human beings from station to station goes on much as it did in the days of Uncle Tom and black Eliza.

There is this difference now, however. The folks who helped smuggle slaves into the North before the Civil War were God-fearing, law-abiding people. They took part in the practice as a matter of principle and right and without pay. The immigrant smugglers, on the other hand, have criminal minds and do this job for the money they can squeeze out of it.

On the Canadian border much the same situation exists as on the Mexican line. Canada permits the Chinese to come in upon payment of a head tax. The smuggling trip across the Great Lakes or across the unmarked boundary line farther to the west, is a comparatively easy matter. Many Chinese and Hindus land at Vancouver, but there is less smuggling there

than might be supposed. The suitable landings on Puget Sound are few and the railroads offer the only practicable means of getting across the high mountains to the eastern cities. Probably not over 5000 Chinese are awaiting the chance to be smuggled across the line in that territory.

Perversion of the Seaman's Act

But there is another very clever device which nets a big annual grist of undesirable aliens. This comes through perversion of a very humane provision in the La Follette "Seaman's Act."

Under this Act, sailors of any nationality or race are permitted to remain on our shores for a period of sixty days after completing a voyage. The intention is to give them time to get a job aboard another outgoing vessel. Sailors merely passing from one port to another get their shore leave under this article of the Act.

But one boat that docked at our ports not long ago came in with more than 200 sailors aboard and when she left she took with her less than 100 of these. The rest had deserted. In fact, that was the sole object of their voyage. They shipped as sailors—and many of them had never been at sea before—merely as a means of dodging Uncle Sam's immigration officials.

This group included Malayans, Syrians, Hindus and others from the barred zones. Not only were they undesirable types but they represented some of the most undesirable specimens of undesirable groups.

We found one group of ninety-eight such men working inside a stockade in an Eastern State as strike-breakers. The sanitary conditions were terrible. A pig-pen is clean compared with what we found in their living quarters. On the whole, this particular group which had slipped in, or possibly had been helped in, through a loop-hole in the Seaman's Act, was about the worst our investigators had ever seen. They didn't know what a bath was. Fifteen of them had a loathsome contagious disease of the eyes. One was insane. They would not hesitate to kill. In fact, when our agents were questioning some of them, one man whipped out a long knife and would have killed the interpreter if our men had not thrown themselves upon the criminal and disarmed him.

Yes, the whole group was shipped back across the waters. But deportation is not the simple, easy process it might at first appear.

Why Deportation Is Difficult

In the first place, it costs the Government from \$150 to \$200 expense for every man sent back. We only have about \$280,000 available for this purpose annually now. We could exhaust that amount in a few weeks if we deported all that really ought to go back. There are many thousands of Orientals here who ought to be deported—some estimate the number at 100,000. And this does not include other undesirables and barred nationalities. Officers in every one of our thirty-one districts know of many specific cases that should have the deportation treatment. But all we can do is send back the worst cases. Deportation of criminals just completing their sentences takes up a big share of the available fund.

But suppose we have decided to deport a man. First we must learn where he came from. The law requires us to send a man back to the country whence he came. But what if we do not know where he came from and the man himself refuses to tell?

We have a case of that kind in Iowa now. Two men have just completed prison sentences. They refuse to name their land of origin. They say they will stay in jail the rest of their days before they will give us the information that will enable us to send them home. Not very complimentary to their native land, are they?

Examinations, keeping records, making up passports and clearing these undesirable and bootleg immigrants for foreign ports, adds a further heavy expense in addition to the actual costs of passage.

In the case of Chinese sailors and those of other barred nations, we have established a rule requiring ship owners to furnish bond in the amount of \$500 for each man allowed to go ashore. The fact that more than \$90,000 in forfeited bonds was collected at the San Francisco port alone last year, indicates the terrific lure of American shores to Oriental eyes. Incidentally, it may indicate a neat profit, instead of an apparent loss, to the ship owners who allowed these men to escape.

We are doing the best we can to stop this inflow. We could do more if we had more money and more men. Our entire field force numbers only about 1800 and of these 525 are stationed at Ellis Island alone. But what we need most of all is an entire

new policy toward this whole subject of immigration.

When bootleg whiskey is brought into this country it soon loses its identity. Before long any particular batch is entirely consumed. But the bootleg immigrant is neither consumed nor destroyed. He lives and moves about and takes part in the daily life of some community. It ought to be possible through a system of registration to identify every alien properly admitted. Then any alien not accounted for and unable to produce satisfactory evidence as to his method of entrance should be deported.

Enrollment of Aliens

It can easily be seen that a periodical registration of all aliens would act as a check upon this smuggling and enable us to protect the United States from undesirable aliens, but I prefer that it be an enrollment rather than a registration for the purpose of affording protection to the more than seven million aliens legally within the country who are potential citizens. In this way the Government can get in touch with the foreign-born and teach them something about our national history and institutions. Every alien should know our language. We require our children to go to school. We certainly have the right to require some effort along this line among those who are here, not as an inherent right of their own but because we are willing to extend the opportunities of America to them. It is a privilege which they should respect rather than abuse and an enrollment with the requirement of a fee for educational purposes would thus accomplish two objects: To those who are lawfully here it would be no inconvenience; and certainly it would be no espionage system to require a standard of education before admission to citizenship, but for those whose movements or characters will not bear investigation it will operate as a long arm of the law.

What I have in mind now is a new Immigration law. This is being whipped into shape and I hope it will be ready by the time Congress reassembles. It might be called an "Americanization" law rather than an "Immigration" law, since its object is, first, to shut out those persons racially, physically or mentally incapable of becoming good Americans, and second, to make certain that those who do come in do not remain aliens but are properly fitted for absorption as real Americans.

SHALL THE IMMIGRATION BARS BE LOWERED?

BY BURTON KLINE



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HON. JAMES J. DAVIS, SECRETARY OF LABOR
(In charge of immigration matters)

AS RECENTLY as two months ago officials of the United States Bureau of Immigration felt certain—and felt jubilant—that Congress, on reassembling in December, would be irresistibly moved to keep in force, in a new law, the policy of a restricted immigration which has now been in force for nearly two years. This belief on the part of the immigration officials was based on soundings of public opinion taken in all quarters of the country. Even New England, heretofore a liberal user of cheap foreign labor in its textile industries, appeared to have recanted and turned its back on labor that didn't produce, wasn't cheap, and exerted itself chiefly in strikes

or movements against settled American political and economic institutions.

The Secretary of Labor, Hon. James J. Davis, in whose hands the law of the land has rested complete jurisdiction over immigration, felt the same confidence, and freely expressed it.

Even more recently the country has begun to feel a revival in business. This is welcome enough, and healthy. But a business revival brings with it certain consequences. It means, in the first place, that the public is once again in the buying mood. A public demand for goods brings with it an answering demand for workers to produce goods. Already we hear warnings of a shortage in labor, and with them a demand for more cheap or common labor—in other words, a relaxing of the policy of restrictive immigration.

The Question Before Congress

When the new Congress assembles, the immigration question will appear still less simple than it was eight months before. Our law-makers, and the people themselves, will then have posed before them two problems: one economic, the other political and moral. If by December prosperity has returned in any measure, it is certain to bring with it the pinch of higher prices, resulting from higher wages, themselves a result of a complete absorption of available labor at home, with a consequent demand for more. The moral issue will remain as it was, no more acute than it has ever been; or it may be obscured altogether by temporary economic strain. Shall we think and act in the interests of an immediate money pinch, or with consideration for the future good of our country? Such, in bald terms, will be the issue before Congress and the nation.

By the assembly of the next Congress in December, the issue will have become acute, and will have to be settled, permanently and wisely, or we shall temporize as we have done from the beginnings of the govern-

ment to the year 1921. So much is certain. The only other certainty about the matter is that Congress cannot act with intelligence, cannot shape a policy answering equally to the needs and good of the country, without the backing and guidance of an awakened public opinion. There lies the danger. It is next to impossible to get our people to think seriously of immigration. The subject is forbidding. Or it is highly theoretical, something to be tackled at any time in the future.

The most superficial study of the facts will turn up proof that if we are due for a period of high wages, the high wages result from a shortage of labor that we have created within ourselves, and that no importation of "cheap" labor will relieve. The most noticeable increase of wages and shortage of labor occur in the building trades. This difficulty arises from a number of causes, most of them having to do with a labor shortage, created within ourselves, and not subject to alleviation by letting in anything but the most highly skilled labor.

Some Real Causes of Labor Shortage

In the first place, owing to the great war, the country is heavily in arrears in its normal building program. Any prospective purchaser of a house knows how hard and how high it is to buy or build one. Office space is at a premium. This condition is the result of the high cost of materials—itsself as much the consequence of high wages as of the growing scarcity of raw materials, but even more the result of the high cost of labor in the building trades. What is the reason?

First of all, the building trades unions have for a long time pursued the policy of restricting apprenticeships. There is a much more potent and subtle reason for the shortage, however. Young men are not besieging these building trades for a life occupation. Few young Americans any longer care to lay bricks, or build walls, or plaster houses. Their itch is for entrance into the trade of motor mechanics. Curious as it may sound, the spirit of the times has got into their blood. They want to drive motor cars, or repair them. Look over the men engaged in building a house or a factory, and you will find few youngsters among them. Most of the workers are in middle-age or beyond it. Plasterers are receiving, in some quarters, \$20 a day. A morning print of a few

days ago carried the news item that handlers of bricks—not bricklayers, but heavers of brick from barge to truck—were getting \$25 a day. On the grounds of human nature, other labor will be quick to fall into the fashion. The coming wage of \$25 a day for any skilled labor has been predicted as the commonplace of tomorrow, unless we cross this tendency with the answer of labor cheap and plentiful.

Custom tailors are complaining of a shortage of high-quality cutters and fitters. What is the reason? A shortage of cheap labor? Far from it. The makers of ready-made clothing have been drawing off the men gifted with the faculty of designing smart garments. These manufacturers have had the shrewdness to foresee a tendency. They have catered to a public grown weary of paying \$100 to \$150 for a suit of clothes designed by an artist tailor, and offer the same public a suit as well answering the tastes of an exact dresser at a price of from \$50 to \$75. The whole thing is an economic process effected within ourselves, and without relation to competition from others, whether working outside or within our own borders.

These instances might be multiplied time and again. Singly, or in the whole, they prove that if we are in for an era of high wages and higher costs, the causes of these have been generated here at home, by forces too strong to be touched in any measure by throwing open the gates to the entrance of labor that cannot amalgamate with our American populace of workers on any terms whatever.

The Social Factor in High Wages

There is one more fact to be remembered in connection with wages high already, and tending higher. High wages result from other than economic forces. They result almost as certainly from social forces. Wages go up in answer to a rising level of taste and intelligence in the worker himself, and in answer to a rising level of intelligence in society in general.

Not long ago a British economist, stirred by the cry for a return of wages to "the pre-war level," set himself to an examination of wages in his country over a period of 750 years. He was fortunate enough to be aided in this study by discovery of the accounts kept covering the building of the Tower of London, Westminster Cathedral, Hampton Court, and other famous public

buildings there. He found that 750 years ago a carpenter was paid 5 cents a day. In 1913 a British carpenter was paid \$5 a day. It had taken him 750 years to bridge the gap. But in all that period wages had not failed to rise, every 50 years or so, by 20 to 40 per cent. The Wars of the Roses, the Cromwellian wars, the wars with Napoleon, had invariably sent wages up by a large margin. When the drop came, it was never below the regular 20 to 40 per cent. increase that was almost automatic to every period of 50 years. The workman never went back. Once firmly established on the rung above, he sawed every rung beneath him. Social, as much as economic causes, accounted for this.

The same social causes play their part in our own country, in the rise of wages. If anything they are stronger here than anywhere else on earth. Look back for ten or twenty years. By one stage after another the American workman has "wished on" to the Irishman, the Hungarian, the Italian, the Greek, or any other later comer, the harsher jobs, the "dirty work," of building railroads, mining coal, even the cutting of hair, the blacking of boots, the waiting on table.

Not economic forces, certainly, dictate the lowering of the immigration bars for the entrance of the ignorant, even though they be healthy and sturdy. If economic forces need to be called into operation, we have them quite apart from the resource of admitting great numbers of the willing but illiterate of the Old World. Within ourselves we have the means of solving our purely economic problems. Again the public prints supply the evidence. In New York, construction costs having risen too high, Columbia University, with a building program totalling \$10,000,000, suspends operations altogether. So does the telephone company, with a far larger program. In the simplest terms, our industrial problems are to be solved within the family circle. We certainly do not simplify, but rather complicate, the situation when we admit thousands of the ignorant and helpless from the outer world.

The immigration problem would be simplicity itself if we were now receiving from the outer world the quality of immigrant who has contributed so largely in times past to the upbuilding of our country. Except for the outstanding few, none but the poorest quality of humanity is now

seeking our haven. This has prevailed for some years. An expert testified not long ago, before the House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, that if the ordinary army intelligence test had been applied to our immigration intake since immigration to our shores began, almost half the alien-born now with us would have been ruled out in the first place.

Peril in a Make-Shift Solution

Fragmentary as these bits of argument may seem, the gravamen of them all is simply this:

The tests of varied nature imposed upon our people during the war showed that the famed Melting Pot had but poorly melted. With the burden of aliens we have already taken unto ourselves, we are not a consolidated, a nationalized people. The newcomers we have already received may entertain the highest wishes toward citizenship; the fact remains that they have not become bone of our bone. It is true that the tight little isle of Great Britain is a composite of many original races. The parallel fact remains that cycles passed before amalgamation took place, and that not for generations has England experienced to any degree an incursion of alien races.

We have now, and are going to have, an economic problem on our hands. The evidence shows that that problem may be composed on its own economic merits. If we seek a hasty emergency solution, in the form of an unrestrained immigration, we do nothing to solve the immediate industrial problem, and we do compromise the future of the country by the inclusion of alien elements which it may take generations to assimilate, if they can be assimilated at all.

Public opinion must shape itself between now and the time when Congress reconvenes and a new immigration law becomes ineluctable. Surely the stability of our country must take precedence over any temporary consideration, whatever its practical and immediate force. It is a mistake to think that the fathers settled once and for all the destinies of our nation. Those destinies are subject to danger to-day, and are as much in our hands as they were in theirs. The central tradition remains to us, always to be guarded against change of circumstance and fact. We are either to be a great national family, or a world boarding-house, filled with malcontents.

THE FRENCH FINANCIAL SITUATION

BY J. LAURENCE LAUGHLIN

THE occupation of the Ruhr Valley by the French army has been discussed mainly in its political aspects, whether France was acting within her rights under the treaty or whether the passive resistance of the Germans would defeat the purpose of the occupation.

The crucial matter is the financial burden that France carries.¹ Before the war she was spending more than her income, under the dangerous socialistic assumption that the nation's surplus, on which she could draw for social *solidarité*, or non-essential grants in behalf of the public, was practically inexhaustible. It was not kept in mind that consumption could not exceed production; that measures which reduced the efficiency of production would reduce the nation's productivity and would lessen the nation's surplus; and that the daily income of all classes was a flow, without a large store of goods laid by, so that a stoppage of the orderly stream of goods coming forward from her labor, capital and resources would quickly show itself in a shortage of goods ready for consumption.

A surplus could be quickly exhausted by non-productive expenditure by the government for these purposes and the threat of war. Under these influences, France had to supplement her taxes by borrowing as follows (in millions of francs):

1902.....	64	1907.....	84
1903.....	40	1908.....	56½
1904.....	27	1909.....	55
1905.....	57	1910.....	59½

¹Indebtedness is acknowledged especially to Dr. H. G. Moulton, Director of the Carnegie Institute of Economic Research, Washington, as well as to H. E. Fisk "French Public Finance," B. M. Anderson, Jr., "Effects of the War on Money Credit and Banking in France," the *Bulletins of the Federal Reserve Board*, and the *Bulletin de Statistique et de Législation Comparée*.

Thus by the end of 1913 her total debt (counting exchange at par of 19.3 cents) was \$6,492,000,000, which was more than twice that of Italy, nearly twice that of Great Britain, and more than five times that of Germany. It was unfortunate that France should at the very outset of the war have been thus handicapped. The German indemnity of five milliards in 1871 could have been responsible for less than one-sixth of it (or \$1,000,000,000).

II

On top of this pre-war burden was added the phenomenal expenses of the World War (1914-19). The money cost of the war to France was \$37,588,000,000 (at par). If reduced to the purchasing power of the franc in 1913, the cost of the war in gold was \$12,430,000,000, to which should be added property losses of about \$5,000,000,000, or \$17,430,000,000 in all. The national wealth of France in 1913 (Edmond Théry, as quoted by Karl Helfferich) was \$57,900,000,000, so that the cost of the war alone (over and above an allowance for annual expenses on a pre-war basis) was 21.5 per cent. of her national wealth in 1913, and amounted to \$327 for each man, woman and child. If we include property losses, the cost, computed on a gold basis, was 30 per cent. of her wealth in 1913.

Since the close of the war the debt has been increasing, mainly due to the outlay for devastated areas and for pensions (not offset by German reparation payments). Not only during the war, but in recent years, the budgets have not balanced, for expenditures have exceeded total receipts as follows (in millions of francs):

Year ending Dec. 31	Total Receipts Other than Borrowing	Total Expenditures	Percentage of Receipts Other than Borrowing to Expenditures
1920	18,381	58.143	31.61
1921	23,890	49.124	48.63
1922	23,623	53.000	44.57

Thus the very serious situation is disclosed that the available receipts of the French Government in 1920 were less than one-third of the actual expenditure, and in 1921 and 1922 were less than one-half. Borrowing to make up enormous deficits keeps on increasing the national debt. Such a situation cannot continue long: either the receipts must be increased or the outgo must be reduced—perhaps both. But in the French discussions now going on as to the budget of 1923 and 1924, very heavy borrowings seem imminent. Senator Béranger, president of the Finance Commission of the Senate, estimates that 35,234,000,000 francs (over \$2,000,000,000 in gold at present exchange) will have to be borrowed to cover the deficit of 1923.

As a result of these happenings, to what height has the total national debt actually risen? At the end of 1921, the total debt is given as 308,427,000,000 francs (Fisk, "French Public Finance," p. 28) which (at par) is \$59,444,000,000, or (at exchange of 9 cents) \$27,758,000,000. The official statement of March 31, 1922, in which the foreign debt was converted at exchange of 9.03 cents, is as follows (in millions of francs):

I. Domestic:	
1. Consolidated.....	155.058
2. Floating.....	87.050
	242.108
II. Foreign:	
1. Long time.....	41.438
2. Floating.....	33.437
	74.875

At this date, therefore, the total debt (at par) was \$61,177,000,000 or (at exchange on that date) about \$28,550,000,000. Also Senator Béranger, in order to present the possible credits due France under the Treaty and from loans to allies, made up the hypothetical balance sheet for the end of 1922 (in millions of francs) which appears at the foot of this page.

Enough has been presented to show the crushing weight of the debt already incurred. If converted at par in gold, it is

now greater than the national wealth of France in 1913; if paid off in francs at 9 cents (instead of 19.3) and assuming payment by Germany and other creditor governments, the debt to be met is over \$30,000,000,000. As these assumptions are quite too favorable, this minimum is much too low.

III

The pressing question, of course, is, will the budget cover the annual charges and leave a surplus with which eventually to pay the principal? (The national budget for 1921 appears at the top of the opposite page.)

If the payments for reconstruction were lifted from her (as they are not yet), she would still have had to borrow a sum nearly equal to taxes and revenues to meet her outlay. For 1922, Senator Béranger estimates a deficit of 30,826,000,000. For 1923, the deficit will be 35,234,000,000. The debt charge is likely to increase; but government expenses and military costs, accompanied by a reduction of military service to eighteen months, are declining, perhaps by one-third. On the other side, taxes and revenues may increase by one billion francs in 1923.

The first general income tax was imposed July 15, 1914. This is now applied to incomes in excess of 6000 francs, and is graduated. It covers income from real estate, industrial, commercial and agricultural profits, salaries, wages, pensions, annuities and professional earnings, and that from securities. Due to war conditions, it was not levied until 1916. Only in the last few years has it begun to yield increasing returns as follows (in millions of francs):

1916.....	51.1	1919.....	892.8
1917.....	254.6	1920.....	1640.9
1918.....	871.6	1921.....	2226.1
		1922. (Estimated)	2389.0

It has proved difficult to get honest returns. Moreover, there are few large incomes, those over 1,000,000 francs numbering only 197. The agricultural population,

Liabilities		Assets	
1. Public Debt.....	337,000	1. Credits from Germany.....	124,000
2. Unpaid Interest on Public Debt.....	5,000	2. Credits from Other Governments.....	15,000
3. Reconstruction Debt.....	132,000		
4. Liquidation of special accounts.....	1,000		
	475,000		139,000

THE FRENCH BUDGET FOR 1921 IN MILLIONS OF FRANCS

Dr.		Cr.	
Debt Charge	16,000	Taxes and Revenues	21,543
Other Civil Charges	10,778	Loans	20,104
War	8,702		
Reconstruction	13,829		
Debit Special Accounts	2,714		
	52,023		41,647

which makes up 47 per cent. of the whole, pays little over 1 per cent. of the income-tax yield, while the liberal professions, which constitute only 8 per cent., pay in more than all the farmers.

It seems to follow from this brief review of taxation and revenue that a balanced budget is not coming soon.

IV

It might be supposed that an alleviation of the situation could come from Item 2 of the assets in Senator Béranger's statement (page 622), entitled "Credits from Other Governments." It is to be remembered that the French Government made loans, or furnished supplies, to Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Esthonia, Finland, Greece, Italy, Yugoslavia, Lettonia, Lithuania, Poland, Rumania and Russia, amounting in all to 15,600,000,000 francs (or \$3,010,000,000 at par, or \$1,404,000,000 at 9 cents). Of this sum about \$1,000,000,000 loaned to Russia seems to be a conceded loss. The income also of French investors from foreign investments (excluding governmental loans), which before the war amounted to 2,000,000,000 francs, has been so reduced, at the same time that the French have come to owe 750,000,000 francs a year on foreign borrowings, that there is now no net balance in favor of French investors (taking no account of the war debt).

Under the Public Debt as given above (337,000,000,000 francs) is included the foreign debt of France. That to only two of her allies amounts to as much as the total pre-war debt (in millions of francs):

United States	19.913 (at par \$3,596,000,000)
Great Britain	14.728 (at par \$2,970,000,000)

Interest due and unpaid to the United States to January, 1922, was \$358,000,000. So that the debt of France to this country (including the loans of French municipalities guaranteed by the state) is now about \$4,000,000,000. All in all, considering her

heavy annual deficits, it is not likely that France can at present meet even the annual interest on her public debt to the United States, to say nothing of any payments on the principal. The recent settlement of her foreign debt to the United States by Great Britain stands out in strong contrast to the prospects from France. Of course, the gain to British credit thereby shows itself in the superior repute of British over French securities in the markets of the world.

V

We can now understand the financial reasons which impelled France, under a counsel of necessity (if not of desperation), to adopt the most rigorous methods to collect reparations from Germany.

Reparations were confined by the Treaty mainly to damages to property and reimbursement for pensions. The official claim presented in February, 1921, by France under these provisions was 140,607,000,000 francs for property losses and 77,834,000,000 for personal injuries. At exchange of 7 cents this total would equal \$15,290,000,000. In May, 1921, the total reparations to be paid the Allies was fixed at 132,000,000,000 gold marks (about \$31,500,000,000), which by the Spa agreement (July, 1920) was to be distributed as follows: France 52 per cent., British Empire 22, Italy 10, Belgium 8, Japan and Portugal each $\frac{3}{4}$ of 1 per cent. On this basis France would have received 68,640,000,000 gold marks (about \$16,336,000,000).

The payments already made by Germany to France suffice only to cover the expenses of the troops in the occupied territory. Hence the whole cost of reconstruction and pensions has so far fallen on the French. An organization known as the Crédit National, with a capital of 100,000,000 francs, was formed by a group of French banks, authorized to issue interest-bearing premium bonds, whose interest is guaranteed by the

state, to obtain funds for paying the damages caused by the war. It is expected that these bonds will be taken up from the reparations paid by Germany.

As an outcome of the recent conference of January 2, 1923, the Allies disagreed, Great Britain withdrew, whereupon France and Belgium (with the consent of Italy) soon thereafter occupied the Ruhr district. It is understood, however, that France, if she could have secured suitable guaranties for future payments, might have consented to a reduction of the total reparations from 132,000,000,000 to 50,000,000,000 gold marks. But, if the Spa percentages were retained, France's 52 per cent. of the reduced total would give her only 26,000,000,000 gold marks (or \$6,188,000,000). If Great Britain was anxious to lighten Germany's burden in order to restore her German trade, France might have been justified in asking a revision of the Spa percentages in her favor. It is now admitted that France does not care for new territory, but for financial relief in what is now a very serious situation. She has already spent about 93,000,000,000 francs on restoration, while about one-fourth of the land is yet to be restored. Some 40,000,000,000 francs more are required.

VI

The most difficult problem of all remains still to be discussed. Will France be forced to repudiate any part of her enormous obligations? Even counting in Alsace-Lorraine, the present total wealth of France on a gold basis cannot be more than it was in 1913 (\$57,900,000,000). Then, should Germany pay for the pensions and destruction, there would still remain the public debt of 337,000,000,000 francs (or at par \$65,000,000,000) which is constantly increasing. That debt, accordingly, at par is greater than her total wealth. It is evidently not in her power to pay it off at par in gold. Some of the debt to be sure was piled up in a period of high prices, and the depreciation of the notes increased the figures of the debt.

How are the value of the franc and the rate of exchange determined? When the circulation is at par in gold, foreign exchange moves within the narrow limits of the shipping points. But the notes of the

Bank of France have been inconvertible since August, 1914. Moreover, the quantity has been increased more than six times over that of 1913, mainly because of advances to the state. There can be no redemption in gold until the issues have been reduced to the ordinary needs of business. The government was under obligation (law of December 31, 1920) to repay the Bank annually 2,000,000,000 francs, and did so in 1921. But the status of the reparations and income in 1922 was such that the government had to borrow again from the Bank, raising the advances from 21,000,000,000 to 23,600,000,000 at the end of the year (the highest point having been 26,700,000,000). Thus the outstanding issues of notes were recently increased instead of being steadily reduced. Nevertheless, the correct policy of reducing the notes is held to, although no help comes from reparations.

The rate of exchange, of course, is computed at the value of the notes as affected by the expectation of coming redemption in gold. Hence, as reparations would help the repayment of advances by the state and the reduction of the notes, the chances of reparations cause fluctuation in the rates of exchange. The relation of exports to imports has little effect on the exchanges and the value of the franc under present conditions. There is good reason to assume that the balance of French trade has about reached and will remain in equilibrium. But even if it does, the rates of exchange will still depend on the forces which control the value of the notes and their chances of redemption.

It will be many years, under very favorable circumstances, before the franc can return to par, granting a persistent policy of reduction. The total issue of Bank of France notes is now 37,824,000,000 francs. At the rate of 2,000,000,000 a year it will take fifteen years to reduce the issues to a pre-war level, so that the present gold reserve of 5,536,000,000 francs (or \$1,068,000,000) will serve as a proper basis for redemption. Will the policy of reduction be kept up? Prices have been very high, due mainly to the depreciation of paper. Will the stern persistence in a correct monetary policy stand up against falling prices? Apart from reparations, there are very grave financial decisions to be made by France.

A CANADIAN EMBASSY

BY JOHN GLADSTONE GRACE

(Of Ottawa)

CANADA ranks next to the United States among the world's largest agrarian exporters; but it has never been in touch with international commerce, sentiment, trade or markets, for want of a real representative and an embassy at Washington. North America is the hope of the world, and with its enormous natural resources the Dominion is rapidly recovering from the great cataclysm of 1914-1918. Europe recognizes the Republic and the Dominion as the granary of the world; and both countries believe in the gospel of peace, tranquillity, and Christian civilization. It was for such ideals, and not for spoils, territories, reparations, races in bondage, or the right to exploit the weak, that their armies fought in the recent conflict. Canada is in much the same position to-day that the United States was in after the Civil War, when Lincoln admonished his countrymen to cease wrangling and start to work.

The Fourteenth Parliament of Canada re-voted \$60,000 to provide a salary for a Canadian Ambassador at Washington. The project was introduced by Premier King soon after the House of Commons assembled for the session of 1922, and all three parties were agreed that the hour had struck when the Dominion should assert its right to full recognition in the family of nations, select its own plenipotentiary at Washington, negotiate its own treaties, name the future Governor-Generals, and make the nation's decisions regarding future wars.

The present House of Commons consists of 235 members. A census is taken every 10 years, and is followed by a re-distribution of the electoral districts—a measure that is now under consideration by the King government and that will give the next Parliament 245 members. The agrarian Progressive party at Ottawa is even more formidable in the House of Commons than is the Farm Bloc in the United States Senate. The transplanted American farmer is a large factor in the Canadian West, and

he was never regarded as a stranger. Sons of Missouri, New York, Ohio, Massachusetts, Michigan, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Iowa, Minnesota, and other States, have been elected to provincial Assemblies and to the House of Commons.

The proposed legislation founding a Canadian legation at the United States capital does not contemplate radically altered relations between the United Kingdom and the Dominion. The United States would continue to be advised of British foreign policy by the Imperial Ambassador; but the Canadian envoy, in all matters affecting the Dominion and the Republic, would take his instructions from Ottawa—without, as heretofore, consulting by cable some Under-Secretary at the Colonial Office in London. To declare the Dominion a sovereign state, the instrument might provide for another interpretation of, or an amendment to, the British North America Act of 1867.

The industrial relations between Canada and the United States have quite outgrown, in nearly 60 years, the colonial machinery designed by men who never crossed the Atlantic either before or since Confederation. The international mentality has moderated since the fury caused by the Oregon boundary dispute, the seizure of the Confederate delegates on a British ship, the *Alabama* matter, President Cleveland's Venezuela message, and several disputes over Canadian fisheries and Alaska boundaries.

Viscount James Bryce, the ablest statesman in the British Empire, while Ambassador to Washington in 1912, informed the writer that about 90 per cent. of his duties at the American capital were purely Canadian business affairs. He had no hesitation in declaring that Canada should have an embassy and an ambassador at the United States seat of government. Lord Bryce scoffed at Downing Street's delusion that South Africa, New Zealand, India, and Australia might also want to follow the

example of the Dominion, by saying that the industrial, geographical, and even racial conditions, as respects the Dominion and the Republic, all tend to support the idea of an embassy. He found that many broad-minded Americans were surprised that Canada did not seek representation in the Pan-American Union, for business reasons.

The government at Paris and the administration at Ottawa will both ratify the recently negotiated trade treaty. In the past, Canada's trade agreements with France, and all other foreign nations, were carried on under the operation of old British treaties. The present Franco-Canadian treaty is signed on behalf of the Dominion, not by British foreign Ministers, but by the Hon. W. S. Fielding and the Hon. Ernest Lapointe.

A new Fisheries Treaty, signed at Washington in April, obligates Canada and the United States to coöperate in reserving the halibut fisheries in the northern waters of the Pacific; and as an initial step it prescribes the closed season from November 16 to February 15 for fishing in those waters each year. The whole subject will be investigated by a joint high commission, with a view to further permanent regulations.

A precedent is set in this international transaction, in accordance with the decision of the Canadian people, for a wider recognition in the family of nations, and the treaty was signed on behalf of Canada by the minister of Marine and Fisheries, Hon. Ernest Lapointe. Heretofore the British Ambassador at Washington negotiated all such treaties on behalf of the Dominion.

Marshal Ferdinand Foch, on his way to Kansas City, Mo., in 1921, would not believe that the 3000 miles of boundary between Canada and the United States were without garrisons or fortifications. "It gives me hope; Europe should know," was his reply when shown. In the archives it is recorded that during the Garfield-Blaine administration, in 1881, what seemed

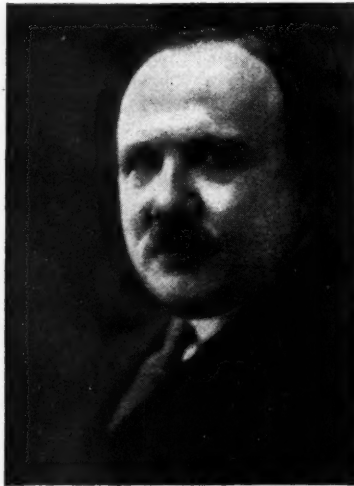
to be exorbitant tolls and charges were imposed on Canadian shipping passing through the United States canal at Sault Ste. Marie. The Macdonald government at Ottawa delegated Sir Charles Tupper to proceed to Washington in connection therewith. He reported that the United States officials were friendly to Canada but anti-British. It is a matter of record that Canadian engineers had pitched tents at the entrance to Lake Superior, to start the Canadian Soo

Canal construction, within a few hours after Sir Charles Tupper's return from Washington.

The United States emergency tariff and the protective measure sponsored in the Senate by Fordney and McCumber, in 1922, obliged Canada to seek markets in Europe and to purchase about \$100,000,000 less annually from its American neighbor nation. The adoption of the Nickle resolution in 1918, prohibiting any citizen of the Dominion from thereafter accepting any title or decoration, was a long step in the direction of defining Canada's status in the family of nations.

President Roosevelt, speaking to a delegation of Canadian lumber exporters at the White House in 1907, expressed surprise that the big business men of the Dominion had not long ago taken steps to remedy the cumbersome, obsolete system of official communication between two friendly neighbor nations. "Your country is frequently at a disadvantage by not having an accredited envoy here who understands the industrial conditions in both nations," said the President.

Canada is represented at London by the Hon. Peter C. Larkin, as High Commissioner, and at Paris by the Hon. A. Roy; and there are in addition many immigrant and trade agents in different European countries. It is now conceded that the Prime Minister, Rt. Hon. Mackenzie King, has brought to the service of his country wide culture, unerring judgment, and broad vision, and the public is confident that soon a worthy plenipotentiary will represent the Dominion at Washington.



HON. ERNEST LAPOINTE
(Who signed, for Canada, the Dominion's first treaty with the United States)

HON. ERNEST LAPOINTE

BY H. B. MCKINNON

(Of the Toronto Globe)

ON a dull day during the parliamentary session of the year 1912, there arose in his place in the Canadian House of Commons a youthful French-Canadian member, to begin in painful confusion his first public utterance in the English tongue. Slowly and cautiously he spoke at first, gradually overcoming his nervousness as a surprised House bestirred itself in appreciation of his temerity.

Ideas long confined crowded his brain, and in the warmth of a new self-confidence he found them readily clothing themselves in a language not that of his fathers. Under the inspiration of the occasion, he burst the bonds of self-consciousness, he gave free rein to his linguistic fancy; and when he sat down, amid the plaudits of Parliament, he had his reward. For the great Laurier, himself matchless among living orators of that day, walked from his desk to that of the speaker, and, affectionately placing his hand upon the shoulder of the blushing member from Kamouraska, congratulated him upon "a splendid effort."

That speech began the making of the young *débuté* from the Province of Quebec. He came forward. To-day he is the Honorable Ernest Lapointe, Minister of Marine and Fisheries in the Dominion Government, representative of Canada in the League of Nations, and still more recently in the limelight as the sole plenipotentiary of His Majesty at the signing in Washington of a treaty with the United States.

The hesitant stammerer of 1912 has become the "silver tongue" of a British Parliament, the most polished and eloquent French-speaking orator of the New World. The previously unknown Canadian is he whose utterances at the great Geneva assembly drew from an Old World Frenchman, Senator Reynald, Secretary of the Bureau of External Affairs, the following rare tribute: "At Geneva, it was for us (native French) a crowning delight to hear the Canadian delegate, Hon. Mr. Lapointe, express himself in our language with a grace to which we but seldom attain."

During the eight years prior to that day on which he first ventured to speak in English, Ernest Lapointe had been more conspicuous in the House because of his physical conformation than for his statesmanship; for he is a giant, with hansom-back shoulders and a frame like that of a wrestler. He is more beloved for his sheer boyishness, his ready wit, and his contagious smile, than admired for his deeper qualities. But the plunge was made, the real man was revealed.

The member for Kamouraska mounted the rostrum more frequently. Practice made perfect, and it was perhaps inevitable that at the great convention of 1919 (when the Liberal party met to choose a successor to the departed Laurier) Ernest Lapointe should have been the one to sway the vast gathering with a passionate and eloquent appeal—in English, so that all might understand; an appeal for harmony in national life, for unity in national ideals, for the submerging of racial misunderstandings and the triumph of broad-based and conscious patriotism over partisan strife and sectional bias. On that day there spoke to Liberalism in Canada the immortal Laurier, through the mouth of one on whom his mantle had fallen.

Then came, in 1921, the general election and the return to power of the Liberal party. Again the inevitable: Lapointe was called to the cabinet, christened "Honorable," and entrusted with the portfolio of Marine and Fisheries. In the fall of 1922, he went with Hon. W. S. Fielding to the League of Nations at Geneva, winning high place in the councils of international statesmen. He returned to Canada shortly after the New Year, and scarcely had unpacked his bags when he was ordered to Washington, there to sign on behalf of King George the Halibut Fisheries Treaty with the United States—the first such document affecting the two countries that had failed to carry the signature of the British Ambassador at Washington.

Honors sit lightly upon Ernest Lapointe.

At the age of 46 he is still the "big boy" of Parliament. His friends complain, indeed, that he does not take himself seriously enough, that affairs of state lie too lightly upon him. He might be still what he was when he first came to Parliament in 1904, the town-attorney of Fraserville—although legal lights will tell one that he is, probably, the ablest constitutional lawyer in the House of Commons. He might be still the humblest back-bencher in the Chamber, utterly lacking in "side," modest to the point of bashfulness, shunning the light of publicity. He is by no means a frequent contributor to debate but is one of the best "listeners" in the House. Once on his feet, his oratory likes to travel over wide horizons, into the realms of external affairs, international relations and matters of broad national import. His keen mental capacity, his sound legal knowledge, his breadth of vision, his tolerance of opinion, his native eloquence and his bilingual abilities all combine to make him, in an especial sense, an unofficial Minister of External Affairs, Canada's most fitting envoy to foreign nations.

Mr. Lapointe is referred to above as a French-Canadian. That might not have pleased him, had he seen a proof of this article. Himself the descendant of a French family that settled in Canada generations ago, he recognizes to-day no

double label. He is a Canadian. Canadianism is with him a passion; a vital fact; the confluence in one mighty current of two great parent streams of national descent—British and French. It is to him something so far removed from the narrow Nationalism of Bourassa and Lavergne that in 1919, when the latter threatened to capture the seat in Quebec East—rendered vacant by the death of Laurier—Lapointe resigned his own safe tenure in Kamouraska, threw the gauntlet in the face of Lavergne and all his tribe, denounced Nationalism, and carried the seat by a majority of 4,000.

Perhaps, in this brief article, there remains space for a final sidelight on Lapointe. Leaving Toronto in February for Washington, on the errand that drew him more definitely into public notice, he happened to remark to a newspaperman that he was experiencing some difficulty in securing a berth for that particular night.

"They say they may be able to hunt up an upper for me," he said, surveying with misgivings his own huge bulk.

"An upper!" exclaimed the friend, incredulously. "Why, man! did you tell them who you were?"

The modest smile of diffidence that has endeared him to his colleagues was Hon. Ernest Lapointe's simple confession that he had failed to reveal his identity.

ONTARIO'S FOUR YEARS OF FARMER GOVERNMENT

BY E. C. LINDEMAN

THE Province of Ontario has provided the world with an unusual experiment in group government. The elections of 1919 resulted in a Parliamentary representation of 44 Farmer members, 29 Liberals, 26 Conservatives, 11 Labor, and 1 Soldier. The Farmers, possessing the largest delegation in the House, were requested to form the Government. This was accomplished by a coalition with Labor, which provided a number one less than a majority. The situation was unique in Dominion politics.

The farmers sought as their leader Mr.

E. C. Drury, a prominent farmer but without political experience. Only two of his farmer colleagues had enjoyed previous parliamentary tenure. The Farmer-Labor coalition was pitted against a well-trained and subtle opposition consisting of the two traditional political parties, and none of the experienced politicians expected the coalition to last more than a brief period. It not only has endured but has succeeded in carrying on a government of progressive policies during a period of four trying years. In the meantime the Farmers have evolved a technique of political procedure

which is baffling to the members of the older parties; they remain quite inarticulate in debate, but pursue their objectives with a directness which is thoroughly confusing.

The so-called Farmer Government has now run its course. It goes before the people in the June elections. There will be numerous issues, but it becomes apparent as the time draws nearer that the underlying and significant question which the electors will decide is whether or not group government is to continue.

Premier Drury does not believe in group government. He would be pleased to have the Farmer party grow by accretions from other classes. His ideal is a people's party, a progressive movement in which the farmer's voice could be adequately represented. He conceives of third parties as the means of absorbing one or the other of the older organizations which has outlived its usefulness. As Prime Minister he insists that he and his party represent the total citizenship of the province and not merely one class.

The United Farmers of Ontario, the organization which supplies local support for farmer candidates, includes leaders who differ sharply with the Prime Minister. The *Farmers' Sun*, official organ of the U. F. O., has challenged the Premier to state specifically what his policies will be after the election. They want to know if he will consent to another coalition or a fusion with one of the older parties. (It is generally assumed that Labor will lose in strength in the coming elections.)

If the Farmers find themselves in possession of a full majority in the next Parliament their course will be simple: they will proceed to form the government along strictly class lines. But it is scarcely possible that this will be the case. Much of the resentment against conscription, which was the emotional force responsible for their 1919 success, is passing away. In addition, the differences of opinion evolving within the Farmer group may act as a disintegrating force in the coming campaign.

The outcome is likely to be a Parliament in which three parties—Conservative, Liberal and Progressive (Farmer)—will hold almost an equal number of seats.

In that case, a coalition of some sort would become imperative. Logically, Premier Drury would be the leader, but his leadership will be contested. He now states that he will coöperate with any other party which will accept his progressive principles. Will such coöperation result in the gradual assimilation of the Farmer Party by the party which consents to the coalition? Or, will the Farmer party absorb the coöperating party? In either case, those who favor group government see in the next coalition a surrender of their principles.

The situation thus precipitated in Ontario is one which all emerging industrial civilizations must sooner or later face.

It constitutes a conflict with the traditional geographic basis of representation of Anglo-Saxon governmental theory. It is a manifestation of occupational consciousness which cuts across party lines and proposes a new political alignment in which the economic forces shall represent the real values. Whether this new force is to become strong enough to bring about a revamping of governmental machinery, or whether it is to be utilized merely as a means of adjusting the older parties to modern issues, is still to be experienced.

A study of the four years of group government in Ontario

points to the conclusion that the latter course may be anticipated.

The farmer government of Ontario has not conducted itself on class lines. Its legislation has been progressive and is marked by a definite attempt to regard the maladjusted members of society as governmental liabilities. Only a small proportion of its acts have direct relationship to the industry of agriculture, and even these cannot be catalogued as class legislation. Neither has the Labor coalition resulted in any marked legislation favorable to industrial workers. And it must be remembered that the leader whose rare capacities have been responsible for success, Premier Drury, is not a protagonist of class government. Thus far one can only say that four years of farmer rule in Ontario have demonstrated that it does not require politicians to manage a government.



PREMIER DRURY

THE GREAT LEADER OF CHINA

AS SEEN THROUGH THE EYES OF MRS. SUN YAT-SEN,
HIS WIFE, HIS HELPER AND HIS INSPIRATION

BY GRACE THOMPSON SETON

AMID all the varying estimates in China of Sun Yat-sen, not even his detractors deny that he has extraordinary powers as a standard-bearer for the aspirations of the Chinese people. He is the one leader who has the power to come back again and again. This means that he never really gives up the reins of power—only the public does not always see him driving. Also that those who in the whirligig of Chinese politics are in positions of authority for a day, a month, a year, cannot gauge his power. Events have proven that when those of the Peking Government ignored him to their cost, a second Republic, so-called, was set up, and again, as in the present case of the recent Cantonese Hurdygurdy, Peking has tripped once more, this time in relying too much upon Dr. Sun's ability to "deliver" the South into their hands. Perhaps not! The latest news is that Dr. Sun is in Hong Kong and in a private letter from Mrs. Sun in reply to my question, "When will your husband be in Canton?" she wrote, "Very soon, now."

As even the twenty-year-resident-in-China does not claim to understand Chinese politics, and as this is a study of the Power behind the Man, suffice it to say that Sun Yat-sen is the best known Chinaman to-day

in the United States, in his own country and in fact all over the world.

Show me the Great Man and I will show you the Woman behind him. History piles up example after example—of Admiral Nelson and Lady Hamilton, of Napoleon and Josephine Beauharnais. Sometimes the Woman is an inspiration only, some-

times an actual helper, sometimes she is both. In Turkey back of Mustapha Kemal Pasha is a remarkable woman, Halida Edibe Hanoum, who served as Minister of Education in the Angora Cabinet, who during the recent fighting spent hours, sometimes days in the saddle, often, we are told, being actually in the field, a right-hand woman. And now the newly-made Mme. Kemal, a girl of eighteen, is showing herself most progressive in the matter of costume and conduct in furthering her husband's ideals. In Italy, there are several unusual women back of Premier Mussolini and the Fascisti movement. The most able



DR. SUN YAT-SEN AND MRS. SUN

(Photographed last year, when Mrs. Sun was organizing a Red Cross unit at the field headquarters of her husband's troops)

whom I met was Signora Ada Sarfatti of Milan, a brilliant writer and a leader of modern thought. In Egypt the Woman is even more closely related to the adored Nationalist leader, Saad Zaghlul Pasha. She is Sophia Hanem, his wife, who carried on the Nationalist party during her husband's

exile and whose dynamic concentration of purpose and fearlessness and compelling executive powers would be outstanding anywhere in the world.

And finally in China, Rosamonde Soong, wife of Sun Yat-sen, is his helper, his inspiration and comfort. A pretty woman, young, with charming manners, well educated and highly intelligent, wearing native dress with foreign-clad feet, speaking English and French, and driven by a deep patriotism, Mrs. Sun Yat-sen subordinates her personality, so far as such a personality could be subordinated, to her husband. She adores and reveres him. She knows him to be a great man and she lets him know that she knows. Home stimulation like this is a great help in the dark hours, and Dr. Sun's career has held many dark hours. It has been as eventful and full of ups and downs as a scenic railway, and no man can predict whether it will finally terminate on the up or on the down. He is at present engaged in shooting the chutes of another Cantonese rebellion. But there is no doubt in the mind of Mrs. Sun. Her husband is a genius and a hero, and destined to perform great things for New China. Her husband shares this view. The family is united. This belief is undoubtedly the secret of Dr. Sun's staying power, for his unquestionably big place in the Chinese sun. Thousands, perhaps hundreds of thousands, of his countrymen feel the same way about it.

This is Rosamonde Sun's creed as stated in her own handwriting in English without change: "My views are largely those of my husband, who has deeply influenced my thoughts and moulded my mind since our marriage. With him, I believe in the ability of our people to make China a strong and prosperous democratic state. The roots of democracy lie deep in us.

"In common with other followers of Dr. Sun, I accept his teaching that real reform in China is impracticable except under a democratic régime. *Such a régime is certain to succeed here in time.*

"I am the more anxious for this, because both my husband and myself believe that the public life of the nation will be enriched by raising the status of women here and enlarging the opportunities for their education and participation in the general work of the country.

"If I may send, through you, a message to the women of America where I was educated and learnt some of the things which I am trying to see realized in China, it is this: a happier womanhood in China is bound up with a successful Republic in China. (Signed) Rosamonde S. Sun."

A happier womanhood indeed! I well remember my second meeting with the wife of Sun Yat-sen—the first was in their Shanghai home—when her sister, Miss May Ling Soong, a very attractive, cultivated girl of the modern progressive

type, an active Y. W. C. A. worker, had arranged to show me some silk filature factories and the conditions under which women and children labor.

When the limousine, which had been placed at my disposal for my Shanghai visit—one of the many delightful courtesies which are so graciously extended to the stranger—drew up before a comfortable foreign-style dwelling in the French section, where Miss Soong joined me, I was informed that Mrs. Sun would accompany us. This was a delightful surprise and pleasure and we soon arrived at the modern two-story brick and stucco house, further embellished with pebbles, also in the French Concession, which is the Sun's home in Shanghai. A soldier stood at the entrance to the small garden and another guarded the vestibled



DR. SUN YAT-SEN

(Leader of the southern provinces of China in the struggle to reestablish a peaceful, unified Chinese republic)

front door, upon which was posted a message in Chinese characters to the effect that no one would be admitted without previous arrangement.

The soldier permitted us to pass, of course, and after a short wait, the bell was answered by the sliding back of a bolt and the door was opened about six inches by a stalwart coolie. As Dr. Sun's life is by no means the most secure in a country where life is held cheaply, these precautions were necessary. Mrs. Sun was punctual; and we were again on the sidewalk discussing which motor to take, for her Cadillac touring car also awaited her at the curb.

A thoroughly characteristic scene followed. I suggested the closed car as the day was very cold. The offer was graciously accepted, but in such a way that I sensed that the open car was preferred. As I was the guest, everything must be done for my comfort, but—I promptly suggested using the open car, whereupon a charming smile greeted me.

"I am so glad you prefer it and will not find it too cold. I am so nervous these days that I do not like to ride behind strange chauffeurs." Which uncovered another story. The tragic experiences of Rosemonde Sun last summer, when she barely escaped from Canton with her life, have taken a heavy toll from her nerve strength. A comparison of the photograph taken a year ago and the snapshots I took of her on that afternoon a few weeks ago tells the tale. The same unconquerable spirit and the same great charm and sweetness but the hollow cheeks do not rightfully belong to one not half way through the second score of years. It is a beautiful face, an oval with jaws squaring a little under the smooth cream skin, large straight-set dark eyes that look at one fearlessly. Soft black hair which waves back from a broad

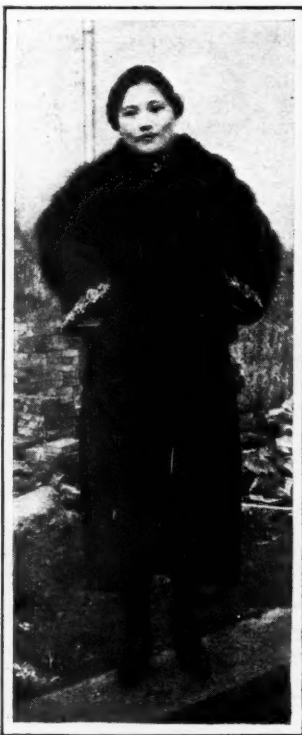
brow was held by tortoise shell combs, a small, full-lipped mouth and nose whose bridge is more prominent than is usual in the Chinese face. She wore but one ring on the long, slender, left middle finger—a large opal surrounded by diamonds—"the opal brings me good luck I think, not bad," she said. Light stockings, pointed patent leather American slippers, a purple silk Chinese jacket and dark striped skirt with some foreign style furs of skunk completed her costume. She gave a gentle, serious consideration to all my questions and thoughtful, highly intelligent answers. The half smile of the photograph frequently lighted her face, which became grave however when we talked of the conditions under which the factory women work.

What shall I say about that silk filature factory where women and little girl children wear out their lives in steam and heat and long hours of incessant toil that some of us may be clothed in silk and others may make a profit out of their life force? Even babies rolled around on the filthy floor because there was no place for the mothers to leave them. There was no welfare work in this factory, no *crèche*, no rest room, no lunch room, not even stools for the "feeders" so that they might sit part of the time. These "feeders" are girls from six years to

sixteen who toss the cocoon in steaming, boiling water to start the thread.

For 25 cents Mex. (13 cents gold) a day, these minors work through a twelve-hour day. The older girls and women, the spinners, get 50 cents Mex. (25 cents gold) a day. The thick steamy vapor shrouded the room in haze. The air was stifling and vitiated.

Mrs. Sun and her sister, together with a group of progressive Chinese women in Shanghai, have begun to agitate for better working conditions, better pay and shorter



A SNAPSHOT OF MRS. SUN
BY THE AUTHOR

hours. The day of the native social worker has begun in China and Rosamonde Sun is one of the leaders.

In her home in Canton, last year she organized a Red Cross Hospital at Nanyung, Kiangsi Province, the concentration camp of Dr. Sun's forces, to take care of the soldiers wounded while fighting for her husband's cause and for the Labor party called the Kuomintang.

This Chinese lady is interested in and has helped to advance the opportunities for women to obtain economic and social independence. In the professional as well as the occupational and laboring woman class she has done organizing work along Western lines. On my second visit to Shanghai she had arranged a mass-meeting of five organizations of Chinese women for me to address. The choice of a topic and also the fact of these progressive organizations, purely Chinese women, was a surprise to me. Few foreigners realize what a growth the progressive spirit has already attained. To be sure it is yet largely confined to the big cities and the treaty ports, but the leaven is working.

The names of the groups gathered on this occasion give an idea of this and do not suggest the "lily foot" or the "shut-in": The Shanghai Woman's Club, the Woman's Rights Movement, the Suffrage Association, the Business Girls' Club, and the Y. W. C. A. The topic selected was a bird's-eye view of the Women's Movement around the world! In far-off China, through an interpreter, these Oriental wide-awakes listened to a recital of the methods and struggles which their sisters in other countries have labored over on the long road to political and social equality. Mrs. Sun followed every word with sympathetic interest. The next day came a package containing a pound of tea in a silver container. It was from Rosamonde Sun with a note thanking me for the speech and giving the tea's pedigree.

"Please accept this tin of tea from me. It is called the 'Iron Kwan-non'¹ and much prized for its delicate aroma. It is produced only in Fukien Province. There used to be quite a ceremony in drinking



A PORTRAIT OF MRS. SUN MADE A YEAR AGO

(Before the harrowing experiences of the past few months had begun to show their effect)

this tea. It is brewed in a tiny earthenware teapot (such as children use for dolls) and is poured into *tiny* doll cups, and slowly sipped by the guests. Our best tea is always brewed in earthenware teapots as the aroma is thus improved." The Occidental mind is rarely educated up to the value of the Oriental beverage, so I shall have to commercialize it by saying that such tea sometimes costs as high as fifty dollars a pound. It corresponds somewhat to our old vintage champagnes and brandies.

Returning to Shanghai after two weeks of hectic revolutionizing at Canton where Sun Yat-sen and his party were playing a kind of Chinese poker to regain control of the city in the interests of "Reunification," I received the following letter from his wife: "The reason that you have not heard from me is due to my sickness. I have got influenza and feel very miserable with it. The doctor has forbidden me to get out of bed. I should *love* to see you and hear all about your trip to Canton, but I certainly do not want to risk your health—my husband has caught it from me, so my conscience is heavy enough! Will you write

¹ Kwan-non is the Chinese Goddess of Mercy and Patroness of Women.

me? I can answer all your questions in bed and it will be a diversion, I am sure. How I regret my bad luck in not seeing more of you before you leave! I am sending you some chocolates for the voyage. With best regards. Most cordially yours, Rosamonde Sun."

In this day of psycho-analysis, human documents are more valuable the less they are tampered with. I therefore shall give Rosamonde's autobiographical sketch as she sent it to me. It is very revealing—a Chinese woman translating the Orient into Western thought. Her silences and reserves are as indicative as the stated fact.

(1—Where and when were you born?)

"I was born in Shanghai."

(2—Where and how were you educated?)

"Studied under private tutor at home until the age of twelve when I was sent by my parents to boarding school. At fifteen I was sent abroad to study in a private school in Summit, New Jersey, to prepare for college. Entered the Wesleyan College at Macon, Georgia, from which I was graduated in 1913." (Took B. A. Course.)

(3—When and where were you married?)

"I was married in 1915, October 25th, at Tokio, Japan. My husband was then a refugee in Tokio."

(4—Have you any children?)

"None."

(5—What is your favorite flower, amusements and recreation?)

"My favorite flower is the rose. My favorite amusement is to play chess with my husband. Recreation—to hear good music."

(6—Do you hope to go back to Canton within a few weeks?)

"Yes." (Which meant that she expected Dr. Sun to be successful in the Revolution.)

(7—Names of your parents and their home?)

"Chia-ju Soong is the name of my father, who was a native of Kwangtung province and was educated at Vanderbilt University of Tennessee. Kwei-tsung Nie is my mother's name—she is a native of Shanghai and was educated both in English and Chinese in a foreign mission school in Shanghai."

(8—What is your chief ambition?)

"My chief ambition is to see China set free from the grasping powers and emerge as a real democracy, with all the concessions and fronts returned to her."

(9—Who are the most interesting women in China? Name in order of importance.)

"The most interesting women in China are those who are trying to do good without appearing so—their names would not be known were I to enumerate them."

(10—What do you admire most in your distinguished husband?)

"What I admire most in my husband is his utter unselfishness and in believing the best of every person he meets—he never suspects anyone of wrong intentions."

(11—What are your favorite books?)

"Sartor Resartus" is a book that I find most refreshing and never get tired of reading it—it is always with me. Havelock Ellis and Edward Carpenter are also valuable to me."

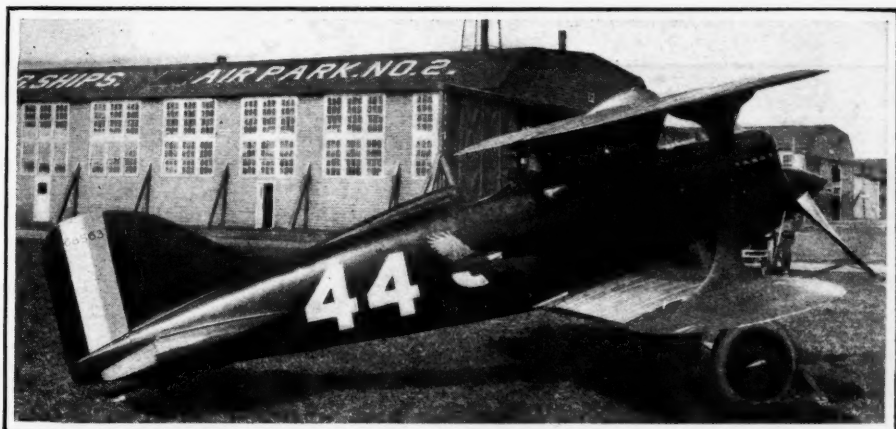
It should be remembered that Mrs. Sun is the product of a generation of foreign training; her father in America and her mother at a Mission school in Shanghai. In her as in other foreign-trained students of the second generation, I observed a different attitude toward her country—that more nearly approaching the Western idea of patriotism. Both Dr. Sun and his Rosamonde seemed to have developed this sentiment which puts public interests above private ones. It can be said of very few of the Chinese to-day. To the Family, with a big capital F, rather than to the State, do they bow the knee and crush the spirit. And it is the family rather than the state which they seek to glorify.

Rosamonde Sun believes in China, in its great natural resources, and in the Chinese republican form of government. She thinks that peaceful penetration is better than force. The only value in strife is to break down obstacles which will not yield to progress. She realizes that the laboring class needs machinery and scientific experience; she thinks that the Chinese can become good mechanics. Many of the factories are now run entirely by Chinese. She advocates education for everyone. A nation can rise no higher than its women, especially in China where the women have so much influence in the home. In fact, filial piety is developed to the last degree. "The Chinese honor the dead instead of the living," she said, with her little smile of understanding. "The Chinese people have always been educated people and cultured. Our troubles are those of transition. They will straighten out in time."

"I think the foreign-trained student is valuable at present. For instance, the social life of China has been much changed by the returned student. A lady and gentleman may walk and talk together now! Even mixed dancing is in vogue in the Port Cities."

"My husband is against dancing. He thinks it is a barbarous form of enjoyment. We only have sacred dancing. He thinks the Western form is one of the bad things and should not be copied. I do not entirely agree with him. But," said the wife of Sun Yat-sen, "it is the only thing in which I don't."

With a final question we must leave her—this woman of the gracious, understanding personality. Rosamonde answered with a soft laugh, "No, I do not dance any more."



THE FASTEST AIRPLANE IN THE WORLD, WHICH HAS A SPEED RECORD OF FOUR MILES PER MINUTE—MADE AT DAYTON, OHIO, ON MARCH 29

(This is a Curtiss plane, developed by the United States Army Air Service)

RECENT PROGRESS IN AIRPLANE DEVICES

BY BRIGADIER-GENERAL WILLIAM MITCHELL

(Assistant Chief of the Air Service, United States Army)

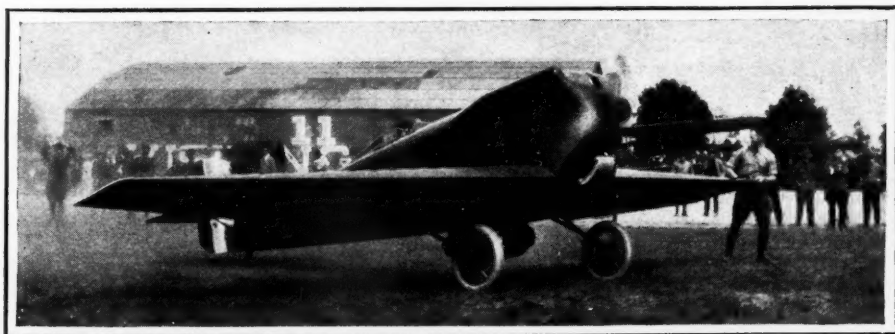
DEVELOPMENTS are taking place in the air more rapidly than in any other branch of human endeavor. The field is such a large one, and the whole science and art of aviation are so new, that great latitude is offered for improvement. First of all, aircraft have greater speed than any other means of transportation; in fact, they stand by themselves as the swiftest means of locomotion ever devised. For many years the French had held the speed records, ever since our own Glenn Curtiss won the race at Rheims, France, in 1909.

Last year the United States Army Air Service determined to beat the French records, and the most prominent aeronautical engineers in the country were given an opportunity to develop speed airplanes according to their own ideas. This resulted in the construction of the Curtiss plane which broke the world's record on October 18, 1922, by eleven miles, attaining a speed of 223.38 miles per hour.

The Curtiss speed plane has nothing freakish about it. It is easy to fly, easy to take off the ground, and easy to land; and is readily convertible into a pursuit airplane for military uses. As all military aviation depends upon the ability of the

pursuit branch of an air force to gain control of the air by air battles, the importance to the nation of developing high-speed airplanes of this character is apparent. There is nothing unusual about such an airplane except its highly refined construction throughout, which reduces to a minimum all resistance of the air. Even the radiators for cooling the engines are made parts of the wings. The engine itself, devised originally by C. B. Kirkham and now called the "Curtiss," is a marvelous creation. It is built to turn up to 2600 revolutions per minute, and at that speed develops close to 500 horse-power with a total weight of only about 800 pounds. This engine, good as it is, will be improved upon during the next year.

The same airplane, which Lieutenant Maitland has piloted, has made a speed on an electrically timed course of nearly 245 miles per hour, the increase in speed having been brought about by a new propeller which gives greater efficiency and a little better streamlining, or cutting down of air resistance. Such a rate of speed is actually greater than that of the cannon balls that were used in the Civil War, at their point of impact. When going at full speed the



A MONOPLANE WHICH HOLDS THE WORLD'S FLYING RECORD OVER A 500-KILOMETER COURSE
(The 500-kilometers—equal to 310 miles—were covered at the rate of 169 miles per hour)

ends of the propellers travel more than six hundred miles per hour. The magnetos for the ignition make over 1,500,000 turns per hour. If one's arm were to be held out of the cockpit at these great speeds the arm would be broken.

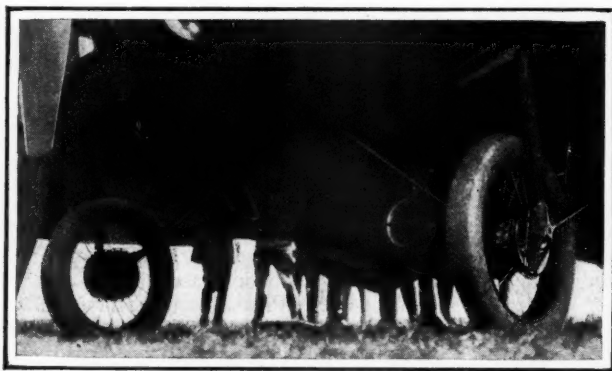
Another excellent speed airplane of entirely American construction is the Verville-Sperry. This is a monoplane, while the Curtiss is a biplane. The wing section was developed by the National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics, at Langley Field, Virginia. The landing gear may be retracted or folded up inside an airplane in this type, a feature which alone gives an additional speed of twenty miles per hour. The wheels have the shock-absorbers inside them, instead of having the shock-absorbers—or what corresponds to the springs in an automobile—suspended from the wheel's axle. The Verville-Sperry airplane made

192 miles per hour, the fastest time ever made by a monoplane. The engine used had about one hundred horse-power less than the Curtiss engine. This airplane now holds the world's record for speed over a 500-kilometer course. The former record, held by France, was 86.47 miles per hour; the American airplane made 169 miles per hour average.

Practically all speed records, for all distances, are now held by airplanes of the United States Army Air Service, which also holds the altitude record of 34,509.3 feet. This altitude was made possible by the use of the Turbo Compressor, a device made to deliver more oxygen to the carburetor of the engine. What makes the engine become weaker and weaker as it ascends, is the fact that the air—which has to be mixed with gasoline to form the explosive mixture—contains less and less oxygen. The Turbo

Compressor uses a small turbine, actuated by the exhaust from the engine, which drives an air pump that compresses the rarefied atmosphere and delivers it to the carburetor with the same amount of oxygen in it as at sea level, enabling the engine to keep up its power.

This instrument is well perfected and our airplanes are able to go above 30,000 feet without any trouble. At these altitudes, due to the rarefied condition of the atmosphere, much less resistance is encountered by



WHEELS WHICH MAY BE FOLDED UP UNDERNEATH AND INSIDE THE PLANE, AFTER THE MACHINE HAS LEFT THE GROUND
(Decreasing air resistance and giving the airplane an additional speed of twenty miles per hour)

the airplane in moving through the air, so that greater speeds are possible than when close to the ground.

On the other hand, the propeller which is used close to the ground is not suitable for use in the rarefied atmosphere. Therefore a propeller in which the blades may be moved and changed so as to make their angle of contact with the air different—or what is called a variable-pitch propeller—has been developed for use at high altitudes. This is almost perfected at the present time, and the United States has kept abreast of world development in that respect.

In high altitudes life is difficult to maintain, on account of the rarefied atmosphere and the cold, so that special provisions have to be made for pilots and passengers. A sealed chamber for the pilots and passengers, in which the pressure and oxygen content of the air are kept the same as at sea level, and which has provisions for heating and for disposing of the exhaled air, is being perfected. As no apertures can be made in this closed chamber, it is necessary to have electrical controls to handle the ship. This in turn will lead to much more simple and effective controls for all airplanes, and instead of the ordinary stick and rudder bar, which we have at the present time, one may expect in the near future small electric boards—something like the variable resistance in the radio instruments—for our control system. This has not yet been perfected.

Another important development is the



THE VARIABLE-PITCH PROPELLER

(For use in climbing to high altitudes, where much less resistance from the air is encountered. The blades are changed to alter the angle of contact)

gyroscopically controlled airplane, or what is known as the aerial torpedo, which has been perfected very largely by Lawrence Sperry. The characteristic of the gyroscope is that it tends to hold itself in a given position when it has gained a sufficient speed of rotation. Gyroscopes are arranged to control the elevator for ascending and descending and the rudder for maintaining direction. An airplane with its gyroscopes set in position can then be directed on a certain course from the ground, and it will fly accurately to its destination with no pilot in it.

This device is beyond the experimental stage and has almost been perfected. Wireless control may be applied to such an automatically flown airplane. Thus an airplane with a pilot may go along in the air and have several other airplanes flying near it, without any pilots in them and controlled by radio from the airplane with the pilot in it.

An American helicopter, developed by Dr. de Bothezat at the Army Air Service Engineering Division, Dayton, Ohio, has had very successful trials. The helicopter rises vertically from the ground, lands vertically, and should go from one place to another under the full control of its



AN AIRPLANE THAT FLIES WITHOUT A PILOT
(The aerial torpedo, whose directional movements are governed by gyroscopes)

pilot. The helicopter has been worked on for a very long time, because an airplane requires such a large place to land in and take off from. The trouble has always been that in some instances helicopters could get off the ground, but if the engine stopped they would fall and smash; and it was difficult to go from one place to another. The de Bothezat helicopter has made successful flights with one and two persons and has stayed in the air for six minutes. It has also gone from one place to another for short distances. It has demonstrated sufficiently that a helicopter can be made.

There is another excellent helicopter designed by Mr. Berliner, also of our own country, the son of the pioneer in the development of the telephone. This helicopter rises vertically and goes from one place to another. So we can safely say that within ten years helicopters will be quite practicable.

During the past winter a great deal of cold weather flying was done, much more so than ever before, and it was found practicable to use gasoline airplane engines in very cold weather. Landings have been made on all sorts of winter surfaces: snow, ice, and bare ground frozen hard. The use of skis in connection with the wheels on airplanes makes it possible to land practically anywhere in the North during the winter—as the snow covers all the ground and fills up the holes, undulations, and inequalities; and the ice covers all the water areas, making them available for landing.

The far-reaching consequences of airplane traffic through the frozen North is incalculable in connection with bringing a totally undeveloped country, rich in minerals and furs, to within a few hours of civilization.

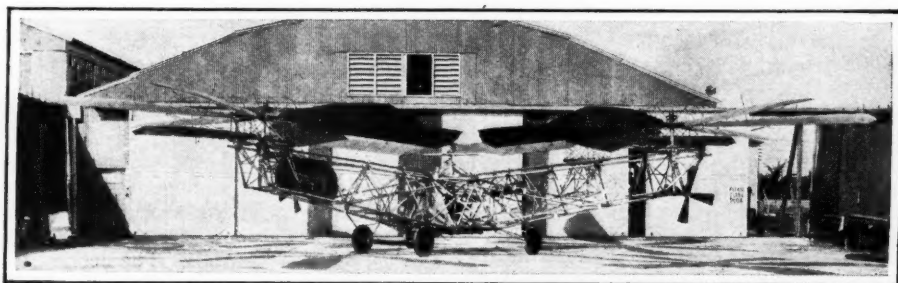
Another feature will be the possibility of

using great circle routes through the Arctic regions and across the Arctic Ocean for air traffic between the United States and Asia. Where it now takes a month to go from New York to Pekin by railroad and steamer, the trip in the future will be made by aircraft in from sixty to seventy hours total elapsed time. There is nothing difficult about this whatever. It merely requires the organization of airways with radio stations, weather indications, and stations for gasoline and oil.

The airplanes which will be used for these long distances are being studied and developed now. They will be equipped with several engines, connected to one propeller by a clutch system similar to those used in automobiles. In that way one or two spare engines can always be kept in reserve while in flight, so that if anything happens they may be thrown in and the others thrown out for repairs. This also will allow a reduced expenditure of gasoline while cruising, giving a greater radius of action to the airplanes and also a more economical system of operation.

Serious consideration is being given to the elimination of fog over airdromes, and experiments so far conducted have given some interesting results. The principle upon which this is based is to determine the electrical polarity of the water in the fog or clouds, and then to scatter dust or sand very highly charged with electricity so as to make the water congeal and fall in the form of rain. An experimental device for this purpose is now being installed at Moundsville, West Virginia, over the airdrome at that place.

These are only a few of the hundreds of developments of devices for the conquest of the air which are being perfected more and more each day.



THE HELICOPTER, WHICH RISES AND DESCENDS WITHOUT FORWARD MOTION.

(This is the de Bothezat machine, which has made successful experimental flights. Such planes are designed to overcome the present need of large, clear spaces for taking-off and alighting.)

A NEW PLAN OF GOVERNMENT FOR COUNTIES

MONTANA'S EXPERIMENT WITH A COMMISSION-MANAGER SYSTEM

BY EDWARD B. HOWELL

AN INTERESTING experiment in the consolidation of city and county governments is about to be tried out in the State of Montana. The legislative assembly recently adjourned passed a law permitting such consolidation under a government of the commission-manager type.

The consolidation of city and county governments in the United States has been effected in a few instances—such as San Francisco, Denver, St. Louis, and Baltimore—but a more extensive merging of the two kinds of government has nearly everywhere encountered constitutional snags. At the general election in November, 1922, Montana disposed of such snags by adopting an amendment to the Constitution which provides that: "The Legislative Assembly may, by general or special law, provide any plan . . . or form of municipal government for counties and cities and towns, and . . . may . . . consolidate or merge cities and towns and county under one municipal government, and, any limitations in this constitution notwithstanding, may designate the name, fix and prescribe the number, designation, terms, qualifications, method of appointment, election or removal of the officers thereof, define their duties and fix penalties for the violation thereof; . . . provided, however, that no form of government permitted in this section shall be adopted or discontinued until after it is submitted to the qualified electors in the territory affected, and by them approved."

Substituting Efficiency for "Pull"

Under the sweeping authority of this amendment, the legislative assembly has provided that the question of consolidating city and county governments may be brought to a vote in any county by a petition signed by 10 per cent. of the registered voters. If the vote is favorable to the change, a special election is called to elect a board of commissioners, from three to

seven in number, according to the classification of the county. These are elected on a ticket that permits no party designation, the purpose being to get away from political partisanship in local elections. Candidates secure their places upon the primary ballots by petition signed by at least 2 per cent. of the registered voters.

Centralizing Responsibility

The commissioners are the only officers for whom the people vote. They are responsible for good government in the county. They are authorized to employ a county manager, who appoints the heads and assistants in the several departments of the county government, viz.: departments of finance, police, public work, health, fire protection, and law. All such appointees can be removed by the manager at any time. The manager can in the same way be removed by the commission, and any or all of the commissioners can at any time be recalled by the people. The result is that while at first glance the law places an enormous amount of power in the hands of the manager, he can be swiftly called to account for any misuse of that power by the commission, or, by a little longer process, by the people back of the commission.

Under this form of government the county manager must make good, otherwise his tenure of office will be brief; and the commissioners must keep in touch with the people, otherwise they are liable to recall. The system combines a democratic form of government with a concentration of authority and responsibility.

There is nothing new in this type of government. It is the commission-manager form that has been adopted in nearly 300 cities and towns in the United States, and wherever adopted the people have resisted all efforts to abandon it or to go back to antiquated types of municipal government. But it effectually eliminates the political

boss and office-holding cliques, and everywhere and always it has to encounter their opposition. Montana is the first State, however, to provide that kind of government for counties. In doing this and in providing at the same time for county-city consolidation, Montana is disposing of two vexed problems at once.

Under the Montana law, the special needs of cities and towns within the county will be provided for by the designation of districts in which particular services, as for fire or police protection, garbage collection, sanitary control, paving, etc., will be paid for by special taxation within such districts.

Most of the governmental functions, however, pertain to the entire county and are paid for by county taxation. The treasurer collects all taxes whether general or special, the clerk keeps records for the entire county, the chief of police has authority coextensive with the county and performs the duties of sheriff, while policemen are deputy sheriffs as well.

It is too soon to predict in how many counties of Montana the new system of government will be adopted. It curtails

drastically the great American pastime of running for office. While there will be nearly or quite as many offices to fill, the manager is sure to select the candidates best fitted for the offices, which the people at the polls do not always do. They are apt to vote for the one they like the best, and he may be the one least fitted for the job. In this respect, the vote upon the new system will be a test of the quality of Montana's citizenship.

In the preparation of this law, the people of Montana were fortunate in securing the help of Dr. A. R. Hatton, professor of political science in Western Reserve University of Cleveland. He has had wide experience as a municipal counsellor and possesses exceptional qualifications for such a task, combining as he does in his style a legal conciseness of expression with lucidity of meaning. He is the author of the new city charter of Cleveland which will soon go into operation. But the service he has thus rendered to his home city is perhaps not more distinguished than the service that he has rendered to the whole country in blazing the way in Montana for a new and more effective type of county government.

CITIZENSHIP IN ACTION

AS PRACTISED BY THE WOMAN'S CLUB OF RALEIGH

BY MARJORIE SHULER

THE milk supply of Raleigh, N. C., was indifferent—and so were the city officials. "Everybody" said so. The only thing to do was to keep on buying the bad milk and campaigning to defeat the bad city administration. "Everybody" said so. Then the Raleigh Woman's Club began to speak. If the milk is contaminated let us prove it, said the club members. If we prove it we shall arouse public opinion; and public opinion can make this administration do right just as easily as it can make any other city administration do right. The club hired a chemist to buy milk from every wagon delivering in the city. The chemist made analyses. The newspapers printed the results of his investigations. Public opinion was aroused, and the city administration engaged a permanent inspector.

An educational crisis threatened Raleigh last fall. The schools could not secure good teachers, because the teachers could not secure good homes. Then the members of the Woman's Club went to work. They canvassed for houses to be opened to teachers. They used care and discrimination in assigning teachers and hostesses. They met incoming trains, welcomed the teachers as though they were their personal guests, drove them to the homes which were waiting, and presented them with all of the privileges of the clubhouse during the entire school year.

Abuse by some of the public dance halls led to the closing of the city auditorium to the young people of Raleigh recently. But before the withdrawal of recreation facilities had caused any ill results, the Woman's

Club announced that it would give two dances every month—one for all of the young people of the city, the other for the young people in the families of members. And we will not have official chaperones to act as policewomen, said the members of the Woman's Club. We will just encourage all of the mothers to come and enjoy the dances, mothers of boys as well as mothers of girls.

For eighteen years the Woman's Club of Raleigh has been performing just such public services as these. For the Woman's Club of Raleigh believes in citizenship in action.

Serving the Community

The club is proof that a democratic social organization for women is possible, even in an aristocratic city. There are 700 women in the organization, out of a total city population of 20,000. Which means that every woman who can be vouched for by two members is eligible to join. A few years ago, when the present handsome clubhouse was completed, some of the members thought that the time had come to raise the dues above three dollars, to limit the membership, and to emphasize more strongly the social side of the organization.

"But you will have to start all over again if you do that," said the club founders. The Woman's Club has always been the same democratic, community-serving organization for the women that the Chamber of Commerce has been for the men of Raleigh. So the dues were not raised, the membership remains unlimited, and the club still has as its purpose "the intellectual, philanthropic, social, civic, and domestic betterment of the city."

The club has a number of unique methods of working for this object. One of them is the coordination of the departments of the club and the departments of government: State, county, local. It asks the officials of these government departments to make speeches, not occasionally, not on days set apart for those members who want to learn the theory of citizenship, but constantly and on topics which are of vital concern to all the members. Thus the women of the club gain a first-hand estimate of the qualifications and efficiency of their government officials, which they find very useful on primary and election days. And they form intelligent opinions on the projects proposed by government officials, which they apply

practically by endorsing or opposing the projects when they are before the city council or the State legislature. It is an individual affair with the club members, what they do about candidates or measures, for the organization as a whole usually refrains from taking any stand.

Developing Local Speakers

The club programs are not presented by trained experts only. Women who never entered a college door, or who never made a speech before in their lives, are surprised to find that their prosaic humdrum tasks have an interest to the club. The woman who "has a hand for cakes" is persuaded to give demonstrations and returns to her own stove with a new sense of her value to the community. The woman who never had "an outside interest," but whom circumstances have forced to learn how to make a home attractive with the fewest and most inexpensive furnishings, discovers that her experiences are wanted by the club. And so it is with the woman who makes patchwork quilts, and the woman whose lampshades somehow seem to fit better with the other furnishings of her home than those that other women have, and the woman who can make a dinner-table exquisite with the commonest flowers from her own garden. The speeches seem of added importance because managers of shops are prevailed upon to send to the clubhouse displays of furniture, lamps and shades, and flower vases.

This development of local speakers has profited the community in many ways, and has resulted this year in the establishment of a home chautauqua with every single speaker a resident of Raleigh and every one contributing something which the public was glad to pay to hear.

A Well-Rounded Program

The art department of the club goes far afield from speeches on old masters and exhibitions of prints. This year it planned a civic tour. For every broken pavement, for every unattractive shop, for every ugly sign on Main street, an equivalent in real beauty was pointed out by the "conductors" of the tour, an architect and a man who has made a special study of the early history of Raleigh. In previous years the art department has made a contribution to the community of a city beautiful plan which it paid to have

drawn. It has also published booklets on home decorating.

The civics department looks after the theoretical instruction of the club members in the affairs of government. This year there was a week's citizenship school with expert speakers, whom the women of the city and of all the surrounding communities were invited to hear. But citizenship in action is the rule with this department too; and nothing could have been better for the community than its most recent efforts, a competition for the best gardens and lawns and a flower show for home-grown blossoms.

The education department of the club extended its activities all over the State by means of an exhibition of plans and models for attractive and well-equipped schoolhouses, which it showed during the last annual convention of the State Teachers' Association.

The health department is another one to take a long step from the ordinary field of germs and mental tests and social hygiene. The practical work of the committee this year was the arrangement and display of two model rooms, one for a baby and one for a child of school age.

"Tell me a story!" has fallen ominously on the ears of many a mother from Maine to California. The Raleigh Club has established an annual story-telling class for the benefit of mothers, and it has taken thought for the motherless children of the city by opening the course to women who will tell stories at the various philanthropic centers. Out of the music department has come a similar service in the organization of a group of women to sing and play regularly at the municipal institutions.

The club has, as well, a social service department which gives to the community wider service than the usual committee by this name. The department plans parties for all sorts of people, homesick boys at the State College of Agriculture, nurses in training at the city hospital, teachers, and other groups whom the club can help.

Numerous as are its activities, the club has found time to build a handsome home and—marvel of financing—to build it and maintain it without assessing any member more than her three dollars initiation fee and three dollars annual dues.

How the Club Is Financed

Out of oyster suppers and Christmas bazaars and entertainments of all kinds the club bought its first home, a little old Colonial house, which it was able later to sell at a decided profit. Its present home was built with money realized from that venture, with \$15,000 borrowed on long-term notes from a bank and \$5,000 secured from 6 per cent. bonds sold to members.

The club saves on the usual staff of employees at institutions of this sort. It has a social secretary who is paid a good salary, and under her skillful management no other regular service save that of janitor is required. When the occasion requires other help, cooks, waitresses and cloak-room attendants are engaged by the day or evening.

The finances are also greatly helped by the renting of the clubhouse to individual hostesses for dances, luncheons, bridge parties, and to organizations for lectures, entertainments, dinners. So fine is the spirit of coöperation between the club and the men's organizations of the city that the latter give their social affairs at the clubhouse in preference to the hotels or clubrooms of their own. The club makes just one exception in renting the house: it will take no money from State conventions or from enterprises for civic betterment for which the clubhouse is opened.

Another source of income is from the nine housekeeping apartments on the second floor of the clubhouse. Each apartment consists of two rooms, kitchenette and bath, and the rental is purposely placed at a low enough figure to be within the means of the business women of the city, who want homes of their own but feel limited in time and money for their upkeep.

The success of the club's financing schemes is proved by the fact that in the last two years the sum of \$28,000 has passed through the hands of its treasurer. In this time the club has paid off \$5,000 of its bank loan and has met bills of \$2,000 for roof repairs and \$1,500 for redecorating. This year it is also retiring \$5,000 worth of bonds held by club members.

The Raleigh Woman's Club has developed the work which belongs peculiarly to women. It has linked the homes of the city with government agencies, which is the most valuable contribution women can make as citizens.



THE TRAIN OF COVERED WAGONS CARRYING SETTLERS TWO THOUSAND MILES ACROSS THE PLAINS TO THE GREAT, NEW OREGON COUNTRY, IN 1848

(From the moving picture based on Emerson Hough's novel)

"THE COVERED WAGON," EPIC OF THE OREGON TRAIL

NOTHING more admirable than "The Covered Wagon" has appeared on the moving-picture stage. It is a stirring epic of the Oregon trail—the Westward Ho of 1848—photographic reproduction on a colossal scale of a train of hundreds of wagons toiling through the hardships and dangers of 2000 miles of western wilderness, carrying hardy pioneers with their wives and children, their ploughs tied to the prairie schooners and their live-stock bringing up the rear.

The technical perfection and the dimensions of this particular "movie" enterprise are marvellous; but its real distinction lies in a rarer quality which one finds in the thrilling interpretation of the pioneer spirit that made America. Boys and girls will get from its two hours a vivid and lasting impression of the history of their country that would generally be too much to hope for from months of conventional study.

This historical interest has been greatly aided by the care exercised to make the details of the play true to the customs and times of the Argonauts. The costumes, weapons, and manners of scouts, Indians, and emigrants, the faithful portrayal of old Fort Bridger and other landmarks of pioneer days, the manner of handling the wagon train in bivouac and march, the affair of the buffalo hunt, and the choice of prairie country for the scenes of the play—all conspire

to bring historical truth to the spectator's mind as it could scarcely be brought by any conceivable wizardry of words.

There is humor, of the true Wild-West variety, notably in the episode of the two old Indian scouts, who, gloriously "liquored up," shoot tin cups on each other's heads in magnificent trustfulness of plains friendship. Pathos, too, in more than one chapter of the story, with people coming into the world and going out of it while the long wagon train toils across the prairie.

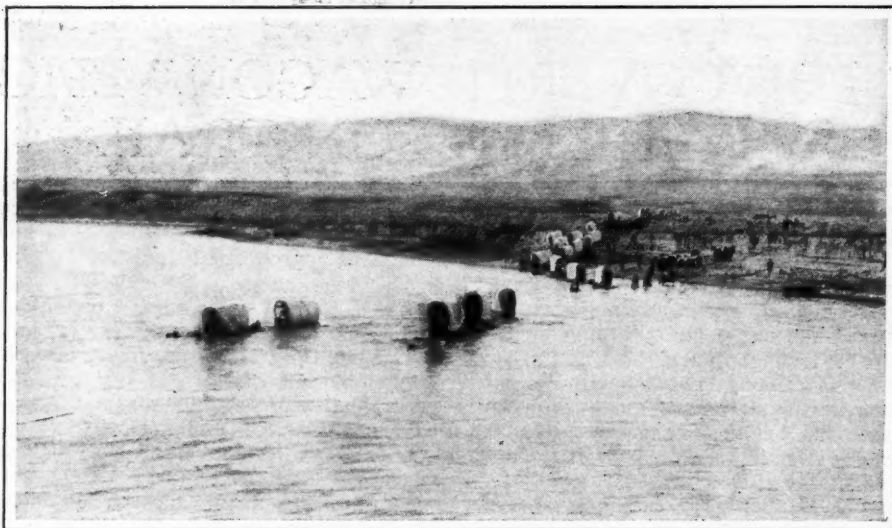
There is an Indian attack on the wagon train, with a last-moment rescue, hair-raising enough to stay by any boy's imagination for the rest of his days; a realistic buffalo hunt that saves the pioneers from starvation; dramatic escapes from prairie fires started by hostile Indians and from unfordable rivers that must be crossed if the ploughs jolting at the wagon-ends are to turn the virgin soil of Oregon.

One senses, constantly, through these Wild Western activities, a quality that saves the show from being too melodramatic, that sets it apart from the ten thousand dime-novel tales and screen plays dealing in cruder ways with the same themes. Turning to the authorship of the story told by the pictures, one comes upon the explanation of the "Covered Wagon's" distinction.

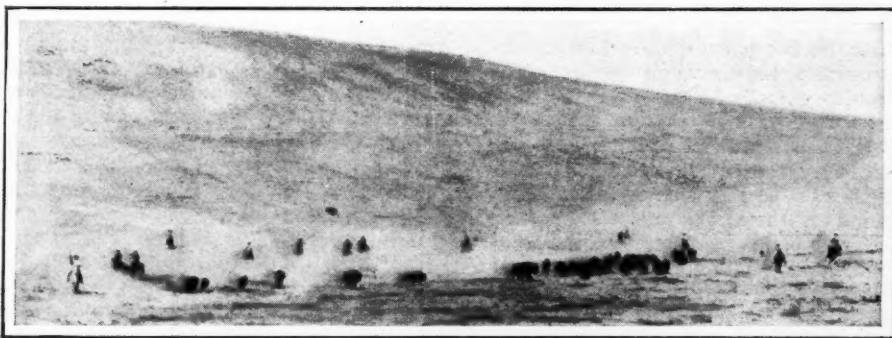
It is the last published novel of Emerson Hough, who died on April 30, 1923, just as



THE WAGON TRAIN ARRIVES AT THE GREAT RIVER BARRIER, BLOCKING THE WAY OF THE EASTERN SETTLERS TO THE OREGON COUNTRY



THE DAUNTLESS PIONEERS SWIM THEIR OX-TEAMS ACROSS THE DEEP AND SWOLLEN RIVER



THE BUFFALO HUNT, TO OBTAIN MEAT FOR THE CARAVAN—AS REPRODUCED IN UTAH FOR THE MOTION-PICTURE, "THE COVERED WAGON"

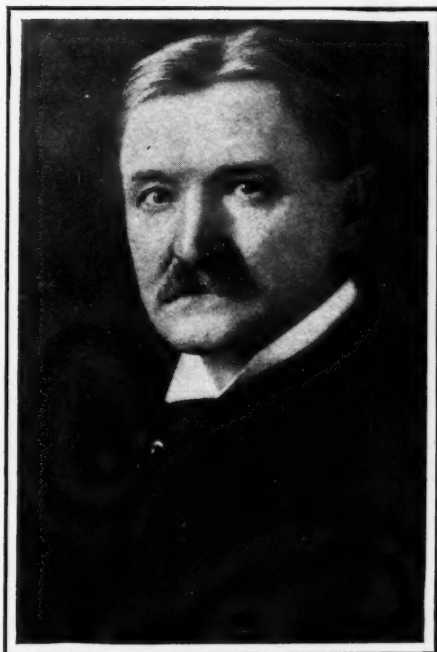
his life-long burning passion for nature, for the hardy virtues of our pioneer forebears and for this heroic phase of American history, was attaining its chief recognition in the popular success of "The Covered Wagon."

Hough was Iowa-born, the son of a pioneer of our West who shot an Indian and a buffalo on the first day of his journey from home with his baby.

Emerson Hough graduated from the University of Iowa and was admitted to the bar, going to a frontier town of New Mexico; but his yearning for the open places, his crusades to save the last remnants of the buffalo and wilderness playgrounds for the new generations of Americans, and his love for shooting and fishing, all kept him moving about the earth too freely and constantly to leave much time for legal practice.

Hough believed the courage, patience, hardihood—the elemental virtues—of the men and women who won our West were glorious things; and he believed, moreover, that our modern civilization will suffer mortally if these qualities die out. He was always ready to fight passionately to save from commercial devastation an interesting species of birds or animals or a bit of wild and secluded beauty. Hough was a notable hunter and fisherman, with fine standards of sportsmanship that have had a very considerable effect on the youngsters of his generation, and older enthusiasts, too, with whom he came in contact through his writings and wide acquaintanceship.

Although Hough began his literary work late in life, his first successful book being written when he was forty-five years of age,



EMERSON HOUGH, 1857-1923

his output was imposing. Altogether, twenty-five volumes have been published, with each succeeding story showing an increase of popularity over its predecessors. Hough was fond of telling how in his struggling days of authorship he wrote "The Mississippi Bubble," made five typewritten copies and sent them all to as many different editors, not daring to hope that more than one would be accepted. But all five promptly accepted the story,

and thereafter the Emerson Hough tales were always "best sellers." His last novel, "North of 36," deals with the beginnings of the great cattle movement northward from Texas to railroad points in Kansas, just after the Civil War. This is a story now told in detail for the first time. Serial publication of the novel in the *Saturday Evening Post* will soon be completed. Mr. Hough was also the author of "The Passing of the Frontier" in the "Chronicles of America" (Yale Press).



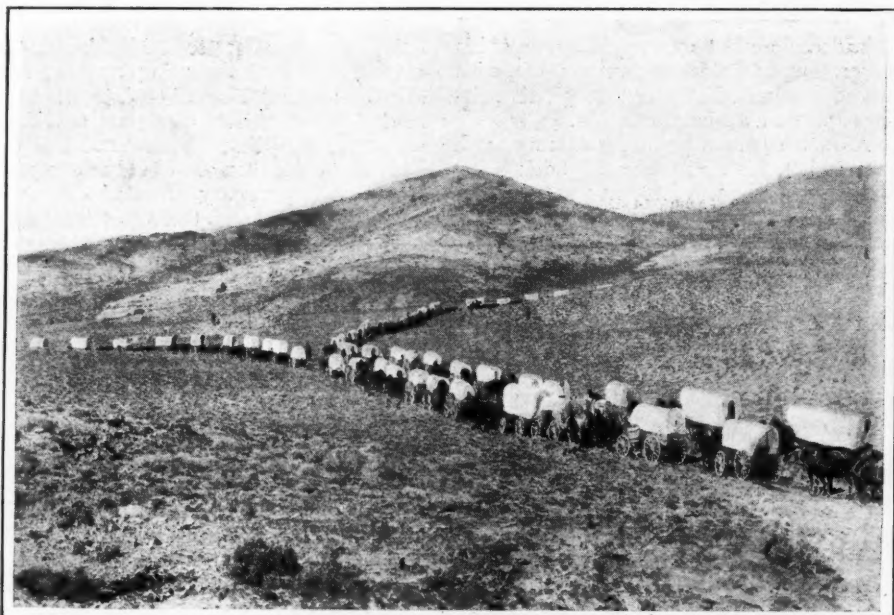
A PRAIRIE SCHOONER AND ITS TEAM OF OXEN, AS RECONSTRUCTED FOR THE MOTION-PICTURE



BUFFALO MEAT FOR THE WAGON TRAIN



AN INDIAN OF THE PLAINS



THE PARTING OF THE WAGON TRAIN—THOSE YIELDING TO THE CALIFORNIA GOLD FEVER
TAKING THE LEFT TRAIL WHILE THE DETERMINED OREGON SETTLERS TAKE THE RIGHT



WILL BANION, THE HERO, AND MOLLY WINGATE, THE HEROINE OF THE STORY "THE COVERED WAGON"

(Banion was leader of the Missouri train which joined fortunes with the larger outfit made up of settlers from Illinois)



THE FRONTIERSMAN, JIM BRIDGER, WHO MET THE WAGON TRAIN IN THE FAR WEST AND TOLD OF GOLD IN CALIFORNIA

(Bridger was a real figure in the opening of the great West. Fort Bridger, one of the important scenes of this picture play, remained for years as a memorial to him)



OREGON AT LAST! THE SETTLERS NEARING THEIR DESTINATION, AMID WINTER SNOWS

LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

Lord Robert Cecil on America's International Attitude

AFTER visiting a dozen cities in the United States and three in Canada, and making about fifty speeches on the League of Nations, Lord Robert Cecil wrote for the *New York Times* and the *London Times* last month a series of articles summarizing the results of his mission in behalf of the League. In the first of these articles he stated that the objects of his visit to the United States were to give information about the actual working of the League and to ascertain, so far as he could, the general trend of American opinion on the subject.

Lord Robert found no reason to complain of the facilities given him to carry out his first object. Everywhere, he said, American audiences seemed most anxious to hear all that he could tell them, and on all sides he met only with kindness, even from those who most disagreed with his opinions.

As to his second object, the eliciting of American opinion on the League, Lord Robert found some difficulty arising from the fact that hostile criticisms were rarely presented and seemed to meet with the marked disfavor of American audiences as showing a lack of courtesy to the speaker. He therefore found it rather hard to learn exactly what were the grounds of American objection to the League. As to the old "super-state" interpretation of Article X, which Lord Robert says he believes would be repudiated unhesitatingly by every member of the League, he gives it as his opinion that when the United States decides to enter the League, as he believes it inevitably will, it will ask that the Article should be either struck out or redrafted so as to make its real purpose unmistakable, and he declares that he does not believe there will be any serious opposition to that being done.

Another argument, much in evidence during Lord Robert's visit, was that

founded upon the allegation that "European diplomats and statesmen are infinitely clever and almost infinitely wicked." Lord Robert found that in America the opinion persists that Americans are altogether too innocent and unskilled to have any chance of coping successfully with European diplomats, and yet he finds that as a matter of history America has done pretty well in most diplomatic controversies with the Old World. He reminds us that the Treaty of Ghent, the Alabama Claims Commission and even the Venezuelan controversy [in which his father, the late Lord Salisbury, figured conspicuously] resulted in considerable diplomatic victories for the United States.

This leads him to pay a noteworthy tribute to President Wilson:

It is true that President Wilson did not achieve all that he went to Paris to obtain; but his position there was one of prodigious difficulty. He went, not to defend specific American interests, but to try to induce Europe to make peace on terms which American opinion approved. Most people in this country now agree that his ideas of permanent peace were right, and perhaps, if he had received the support which he had every reason to expect from the British negotiators, we might have all been spared a great deal of difficulty and unrest which have afflicted Europe since the Paris conference. Left in the lurch by the British, and faced with the inevitable hostility of the French, he had to abandon a great many of the objects which he sought. But he did achieve, as nobody else could have achieved, the adoption of the League of Nations in a form which experience has so far shown to be sound and workable. That was a diplomatic victory of no mean kind, and it is probable that, when the names of all the others who took part in these negotiations are known only to historical students, President Wilson will be remembered as the man who amid almost overwhelming difficulties carried through a project of the highest moment to mankind.

Lord Robert freely admits that his own estimate of President Wilson's achievement is not the view commonly held by a large group of Americans. They believe that

President Wilson was completely "bamboozled," and that belief only confirms the traditional reluctance of America to be again entangled in European affairs. During his sojourn in this country Lord Robert was called upon to meet the various other objections to the League, most of which are sufficiently familiar to our readers. Still, the impression that he received was that it would be a grave mistake to suppose that the present tendency in America is toward more complete isolation from world affairs. He was convinced by his observation that the opposite is the fact. "The truth is that isolation, whether desirable or undesirable, is quite impracticable, and that is recognized by almost every serious person in the United States."

Lord Robert found that one argument which convinced many Americans is that in fact the World War happened and that America was drawn into it with the acquiescence of the immense majority of her people. If that occurred in 1917 there is no reason why it should not occur again. Furthermore, international controversies, affecting American interests, are of constant occurrence. The Chester Concessions form one of many instances of the same kind. On the humanitarian side America was deeply moved by the sufferings of the Armenian people, and although she was not prepared to take military action, she would have been very glad to exert diplomatic influence on behalf of the Armenians. Moreover, Americans are recognizing more clearly the importance to them economically of peace in Europe.

Taking up a few of the propositions put forward by American statesmen, Lord Robert was puzzled by Senator Borah's objection to the Permanent Court of International Justice, on the ground that it is useless because its statute does not provide that all adherents to it shall accept compulsorily its jurisdiction. He thought also that Senator Borah's idea of "outlawry of war" was unworkable. He was most interested in the proposal put forward by Senator Pepper, who in 1920 had been one of the strongest opponents of the League. Senator Pepper, our readers will recall, has recently said in a public speech that

if the League were definitely deprived of all powers to enforce its decisions by military means and merely consisted of an organized system of international conferences for discussion of world problems and promotion of international cooperation, he would see much less objection to it.

In regard to the Permanent Court of International Justice, Lord Robert considers entry into the Court as a matter of minor importance internationally. It does not in any way involve entry into the League of Nations, nor, in his opinion, does it make such entry either nearer or more remote. "It has, in fact, nothing to do with it." Lord Robert does not see how the Court can by any possibility be converted into an instrument for settling all international disputes or appeasing international hatred and suspicion.

In concluding his articles Lord Robert Cecil makes the prediction that sooner or later the United States will join the League, and the only question is when:

From her point of view, and from the point of view of the rest of the world, it is much to be hoped that she will join it soon enough to mold the League according to American ideas, for I believe the ideas of America on international affairs are, broadly speaking, sound, and perhaps sounder than those of any other country. She looks at them with greater impartiality, less hampered by bad traditions, more genuinely convinced that war is a senseless method of settling international disputes.

But the decision as to her entry is evidently entirely for herself. I do not regret having attempted to furnish her people with facts which will enable them to come to an unbiased decision. I think that was a reasonable and legitimate thing to do, but it would be a thousand pities if the attention of the rest of the world were diverted from the main task of building up the League to be a great instrument of international peace and progress by perpetually looking over their shoulders to see what America is doing.



BEGINNING TO REALIZE HE'S ON EARTH

From the News (Chicago, Ill.)

Is the British Constitution "Explosive"?

A WRITER in the London *Review of Reviews*, while answering in the affirmative the question "Is Labor Fit to Govern?" is still inclined to wonder whether the Labor Party or any other, without actual living Parliamentary traditions behind it, could possibly govern modern England effectually under the present political constitution without disaster. He says:

Since the passing of the Parliament Act of 1911 any majority in the Commons, without such an unwritten tradition behind it, would feel irresistibly drawn, by the promptings of the power felt to be lawfully within its hands to enact revolutionary and constitutional changes in Parliament in place of merely normal legislative enactments. In all other democratic countries than Britain, democracy may be said to put on one kind of "thinking cap" for passing what is ordinarily understood as a legislative enactment; but it puts on quite another for effecting any sweeping or revolutionary changes.

For instance, the United States some years ago enacted the revolutionary change of abolishing slavery; and quite recently it abolished the sale or use of alcoholic liquors. But in either case American democracy chose to effect these changes acting through an instrument designed to force before the people enacting them the distinctness and gravity of what they were doing. The United States, that is, enacted these "constitutional" amendments through the specially devised instrumentality of

two-third majorities of its separate houses and of its separate States.

In England, however, we have had no Constitutional Convention since that which sat in 1689 to effect a change of dynasties. And by the Parliament Act of 1911, by mere legislative enactment, the House of Commons can now even, in fact, either change the reigning dynasty once a year, or it can inaugurate a republic, or a communistic Soviet; it can reverse our financial system; it can transmute our industrial order; it can nationalize land, mines, and railways, it can suppress the national debt one year and abolish private property another year; it can enforce compulsory labor the following year, and scrap the Army, Navy, and Air Force by a mere three times repeated enactment as a "final blow."

Declaring that there is not the least demand in England for introducing the written constitution, which might help to bring England in this respect into line with other constitutional democracies like Canada, the United States, France, Belgium and Switzerland, this writer points out that the only outlet towards change which has any backing at present is in the direction of re-shaping the House of Lords or Second Chamber, so as to make it the natural instrument through which the British democracy could do justice to itself if it seriously wished to weigh the consequences of effecting constitutional or revolutionary changes.

For this reason the writer is particularly interested in Sir Martin Conway's article on "House of Lords Reform" in the March *Fortnightly Review* (London).

Sir Martin sees in our House of Commons what he calls "an organ of popular emotion," and he thinks that the House of Lords ought to be "an organ of popular and national reflective thought." In his reformed second chamber, accordingly, he would have special representatives from our scientific discoverers, our business managers, our men of enterprise, our labor organizations, our municipalities and county councils and learned societies and universities, also of our religious bodies.

To a second chamber so constituted Sir Martin Conway would concede increased powers of checking sudden, thoughtless, emotional measures coming from the House of Commons. He would even concede the reformed second chamber some genuine authority over finance measures which the Lords to-day are unable to touch. Actual peers would be retained in the reformed second chamber, but in strictly reduced numbers.

On the whole Sir Martin Conway's proposals are meritorious and are considerably better than those rather colorless ones suggested by the Bryce Committee. Yet there are certain fundamental facts bearing on the case which he might do well also to consider. There is point, for instance, in somebody's recent half jocular saying that the House of Lords was the replica to a Russian



NO FEAR OF THE BOLSHEVIST MOTH

BRITANNIA: "This good old flag is moth-proof!"

From the *Passing Show* (London, England)

Soviet—no doubt a rather exclusive kind of "Soviet."

For the House of Lords, together with modern Russian Soviets, really belongs to a more primitive and perhaps a more enduring form of a nation's or people's manner of coming together than is our delicately balanced popular organ of control of the nation's purse called the House of Commons. The old Irish Tara affords a quite genuine precedent to an assembly of all the vocations such as Sir Martin Conway is in reality contemplating. On the continent we had the narrower States General; in one of which, for instance, France found its instrumentality for passing from the *Ancien* to the *Moderne Régime*. Parliament itself in Holland is still called the "States General."

The English House of Lords is defective, not because it does not even now embody the vocational rather than the representative idea, but because it does so in so warped and stunted a fashion. From the moment when our second chamber came to embody the vocational idea in perfect fairness then it would become far more intrinsically democratic in its constitution than our House of Commons itself is. We have the choice either of effecting a reform of that nature, or else, if Labor or any other non-traditional party should come to power, we have the prospect of meeting with whole hurricanes of revolution and of counter-revolution in an endless series until there is no nation left for us to revolutionize with any further.

Italian Colonization in Brazil

BRASIL offered for many years one of the outlets for the stream of Italian emigration, and the prospects at the present time, as well as the best means of preserving the Italian sentiment among the Italian settlers in that land, are presented by Emanuele Grazzi in *Politica* (Rome).

A few years ago the influx of Italians into Brazil had almost ceased and efforts were not lacking among the Brazilians to procure elsewhere than in Italy the necessary laborers. In recent years, for example, there has been a considerable importation of Japanese into the State of São Paulo, and this has proved a total failure. What Brazil in general needs, and what the State of São Paulo especially requires, is agricultural labor; but the Japanese has proved to be an indifferent farmer, at least in subtropical climates. As a rule the Japanese immigrant, just as soon as he had succeeded, by dint of privations and perseverance, in accumulating a few thousand milreis, would abandon the plantation and establish himself in a town, where he would devote himself to some branch of trade.

The same was in the main true of the Levantines, many of whom settled in Southern Brazil, and even the Polish immigrant has given very poor results. The Spanish immigration has furnished good laborers, but not in sufficient numbers, while the German immigrants, but few of whom have come since 1914, although they formerly supplied excellent colonists, perhaps the very best Brazil has ever had, were rather too much inclined to assume airs of superiority calculated to alienate the sympathies of the rural populations.

It does not seem to the writer that there can be any doubt, even among those who know Brazil but imperfectly, that actual colonization assures to the Italian immigrant incomparably better conditions than does employment on a plantation. Of the many thousand colonists established in the Southern States of Brazil, not a few have become quite well-to-do, and if those who could acquire notable fortunes are rare, still more rare are those who have been distinctly unsuccessful. In the colonial centers, which frequently bear names dear to Italians, such as Nuovo Trento or Nuova Venezia, coöperative societies of dealers and consumers have been organized in recent years, and the little towns are well provided with churches and schools, and with workshops for the artisan. The colonists realize that in a few years the dream of all good Italian peasants will be made true—the right and privilege of cultivating their own land.

Another important consideration is that this form of utilizing the settlers will greatly favor a resumption of Italian immigration, since Italy's requirements for the welfare of her expatriated sons will not, as in the typical case of contract labor on the plantation, infringe upon the private interests of an influential class of Brazilians, but will coincide in many points with the interests of that country. It is true that from a national Italian viewpoint colonization offers one grave danger, namely, that by making the colonist a landowner in Brazil, it almost completely excludes any prospect of his repatriation. With scarcely an exception the colonist ends by considering himself definitely attached to his property. Thus while

these colonists, living in homogeneous groups separated from any non-Italian surroundings, are less exposed than are other immigrants to a loss of their Italian sentiments, on the other hand it is certain that the bonds of self-interest attach them to their holdings, and are likely to loosen the ties connecting them with the Fatherland, which in the majority of cases they will never see again.

This is indeed a grave danger (from the Italian standpoint), but still it may be hoped that the rising generation will still feel proud to regard itself as of Italian race, and will therefore impress upon wide stretches of territory the stamp of Italianism. Although so far but little has been

accomplished in this direction, we have the example of the municipality of Urussagna, in the State of Santa Catalina, where the entire council is composed of Italians and where only Italian is spoken.

In the writer's opinion, Italian schools offer the unique means of keeping alive the love of Italy in the hearts of the rising generation in foreign lands. If, instead of sending Italians to Brazil to work on coffee or cotton plantations, associated with Negroes, Levantines and Poles, they could have been induced to settle as colonists in some of the great unoccupied regions of that vast land, Italy would have performed a task of which she might well be proud.

Pierre and Marie Curie: Recollections of Their Studies and Home

ON HER recent visit here Madame Marie Curie between her young daughters retained an autumn suggestion of grace, with her brow as fine as that of a Roman girl from the Campagna and the charming lines of her mouth. And it must have been a very pretty though earnest young student whom Pierre Curie met at the house of one of his confrères in the spring of 1894. Girls were then wearing balloon sleeves, which made the young Polish woman's waist very small, and there must have been a bunch of violets in her tight corsage or in the girdle of the long wide-sweeping skirt.

When I entered [Madame Curie writes in the April *Revue bleue*], Pierre Curie was in the bay-window and seemed very young, although he was then thirty-five. I was struck by his clear, straight glance and by the graceful ease of his tall figure. He spoke a little slowly and we soon began talking of things that interested us both in science and philanthropy and sociology. There was a remarkable relationship between his ideas of things and mine, in spite of the difference in nationality, due perhaps to the similarity in the moral atmosphere in which we had grown up, as our parents were of the professional class, interested in ideas and in progress. We met again at the *Société de Physique* meetings and at the laboratory of the Sorbonne where I was working. Then he asked if he could call.

I was living then in a furnished room on the sixth floor of a house in the Latin Quarter, and it was very modest, for my resources were extremely limited. I was very happy, though, as I was twenty-five and had just succeeded in fulfilling my old dream of studying pure science. Pierre Curie came to see me with a simple, sincere sympathy for

my life as a research worker, and soon got in the way of telling me his hopes for a life entirely consecrated to scientific research, which he asked me to share. Yet it was not easy to make my decision, as it meant separation from my family and my country. I had grown up under the Russian oppression of Poland and I desired to tend the flame of national spirit there.

Pierre Curie wrote her when she went to Poland for her vacation:

It would be a fine dream in which I dare not believe that we should pass our lives together as if hypnotized in our dreams: *your* patriotic dream, *our* dream for humanity and *our* scientific ideal. Of all these dreams, the last is the only right and just one, I believe. . . . For science we can do something—the ground is more solid and every discovery, however unimportant, is so much permanent gain.

They were married the next year, on July 25, 1895, by the civil rite, as neither Marie Skłodowska nor Pierre Curie were members of the Church. Her father and sisters and Pierre Curie's parents furnished their tiny apartment in the rue de la Glacière with their old furniture, and Marie kept house, though she spent the day at the Sorbonne laboratory with her husband. Curie was then engaged in solving a problem in the growth of crystals and Marie was working in steel atoms, but they soon began their studies in radioactivity which ended in the discovery of radium.

Pierre Curie was very careful about his lectures at the University and evolved a complete course in a hundred and twenty-

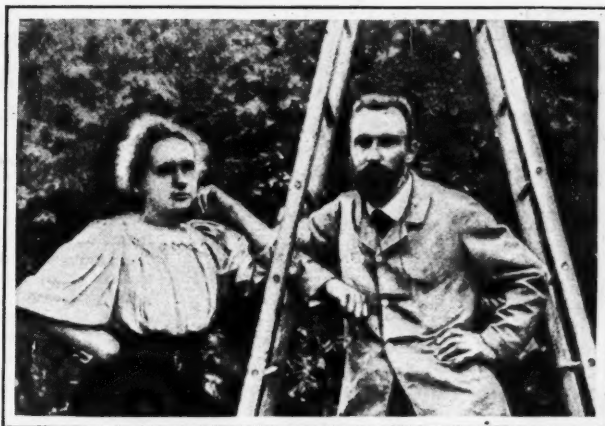
five lessons on theoretical electricity for future engineers, which were known as the most modern lectures in Paris.

For eleven years Pierre and Marie were scarcely ever separated, and their Sundays and vacations were taken up with long walks in the country outside Paris or on the seashore or in the mountains. They went through the Cevennes district and the Auvergne mountains, as well as the coasts of France and some of her great forests. After the birth of their children they lived in some out-of-the-way village for the summer, and Madame Curie recalls an American journalist who came upon her at Poul lu when she was sitting on her cottage steps shaking the sand out of her sandals. He sat down and began taking notes at once for his interviews.

The Curies rarely accepted invitations, but went to the meetings of the Physics Society and sometimes met his old friends on the Sunday walks to Sèvres or to Sceaux. In 1897 Pierre's mother died and Dr. Curie the elder came to live with them in a house with a garden on the Boulevard Kellermann on the outskirts of Paris. Their collaborators and friends often came out for a quiet evening. In 1899 they went to Poland to see Marie's sister and Pierre Curie learned Polish, to the surprised pleasure of his wife and her family:

He was more than I ever dreamed of at the time of our marriage [writes Marie]. My admiration constantly grew for his exceptional qualities, of such a high order that he sometimes seemed to me an almost unique being because of his detachment from all vanity and from those petty faults one sees in one's self and in others and that one judges indulgently but not without aspiring to a more perfect ideal. That was the secret of his great charm, which increased as people got to know his kindness and the gentleness of his character. He sometimes said that he did not feel at all combative. "I am not very strong on getting angry," he used to say with a smile. And if he had few friends, he had no enemies, for he was never unkind. Yet he could not be induced to deviate from his line of action, so that his father used to nickname him "mild mule"—"doux entêté."

In his scientific relations there was no harshness in rivalry and he would not allow himself to be influenced by vanity or per-



PIERRE AND MADAME CURIE

sonal feeling. His faithful companion bears witness that he was always willing to aid as much as he could anyone in straits and even to give up his time, which was the greatest sacrifice for him.

His friendship, which he gave rarely, was sure and faithful, for it rested on a community of ideas and opinions. Rarer still was the gift of his love, but his tenderness was the most exquisite of benefits, sure and ready to serve, full of gentleness and solicitude. It was good to be enveloped in it and cruel to lose it after having lived in an atmosphere charged with it.

The year after their marriage the Curies began the study of the Becquerel rays, which led them to the discovery of polonium and radium. Honors and prizes for the discovery of the radio-active elements were awarded to them jointly, including part of the Nobel prize for physics in 1903.

Madame Curie is writing her husband's life in a series of monographs on the great men of France, but the idyll of the laboratories and the Latin Quarter is now a familiar story to us from the novels of Henry Bordeaux and Marcelle Tinayre, young France and Poland in their grave ecstasy for humanity and science advancing hand in hand unaware of the frivolity and self-seeking of the great city across the ancient river, as if bulwarked against vulgarity by the old bookstalls on the quay of the left bank. And all the grateful sick cured by radium may repeat in antiphonal refrain Pierre's cry to his one sweetheart:

Of all the dreams, our science dream is the only right and just one, I believe.

The Dutch Unemployment Question and Trained Labor in Java

A RECENT number of the *Maandblad van het Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek*, when it declared that the number of Europeans unemployed in Java had increased in eight months from 488 to 532, alarmed some careful Dutch burghers who had trained their sons for work on colonial plantations.

But the youngsters with their sheepskins from the great Dutch universities and polytechnic institutes may sail with good hope to serve their Queen in the East Indies, says the editor of *De Indische Gids* for February.

The *Maandblad* deserves credit, however, inasmuch as it put an end to the delusion that in India there is always work for any Dutchman, no matter how ignorant he may be. The sugar industry is an excellent case in point. Their trade organ reckons that their plantations employ about 4000 Europeans, but among them are men of the widest diversity of training, ranging from agriculturists from the Wageningen Agricultural High School and Delft engineers down to men without diplomas or who have only passed the elementary civil service examinations. Of these 4000 Europeans, 76 per cent. were born in India and only 24 per cent. come from Holland directly. It may be assumed that as a general rule the latter have enjoyed better advantages than those born in Java of Dutch parents, partly on account of the inferiority of the colonial educational system.

But at first the personnel from Java can more than overcome their scientific handicap through their greater knowledge of the country and natives and,

above all, of the Javanese Malay dialect. For promotion, however, and final success in his career Java demands and obtains from the Hollander the possession of a thorough education and probably still more—the possession of a capacity to use knowledge acquired from a broader and surer elementary foundation. It goes without saying that the Java sugar industry could not have reached its present high scientific level and its consequent flourishing condition if its personnel had not been intellectually picked men. In order to maintain this high level, it must be able to count upon the accession of equally well trained employees to its ranks.

If one assumes that the 1000 employees born in Holland serve on an average for fifteen years—an average estimated too high rather than too low—it follows that at least 66 Dutchmen must come over every year for the sugar plantations alone. This number cannot be gathered in for 1923 and the next two or three years from the unemployed Europeans now loafing in Java, because the specially trained men needed are not among them. Work can be given only to well educated chemists, experienced upper mechanics and assistant bookkeepers with diplomas from schools of high standing, but such men are always sure of a living.

The sugar-industry trade organ concludes, with the editor of *De Indische Gids*, that the lads in Holland specializing in some branch allied to the cultivation or refining of the great Javanese staple may rest assured that their life in Java will glide along in the same smooth, well-ordered channels as the canals beneath their windmills at Delft or Leiden.

French Writers at Odds With the Union of Intellectual Workers

OF ALL the classes of society in France, the one that has suffered most since the war is the intellectual workers. One can do without books or papers when there is no food in the cupboard. Some of the sufferers got together and founded the Union of Intellectual Workers, including all the societies of men of letters, engineers, physicians, and so on.

Which was all well enough in its way [says M. Jacques Boulenger in *L'Opinion* of January 19 and February 16] if they had kept to their modest and useful program of fixing legal contracts between authors and publishers and for professors and lawyers. But the rule of the leaders of the Union was not brilliant enough for them, so they published a report of their work for the last two years, divided

into two parts. One was the professional work accomplished and the other "*Economic and Political Activities*"! It seems from this document the few persons comprising the Board of Directors had issued a statement in the name of all the French intellectual class on "a project for obligatory civil pensions"! Then they were concerned with the inflation of credit and finally they violently disagreed with the Minister of Public Education as to proposed reforms in secondary schools!

We are in the age of unions, but the brain worker has to be independent and entirely free from dictation, whether he be philosopher, artist or savant. At present the C. T. I. (*Confédération des Travailleurs Intellectuels*) has not much weight, but if it flourishes, we shall see all the newspapers forbidden to print the stuff of non-union writers; and if any author dares to disagree with the opinions promulgated by the C. T. I., he will be prevented from earning his daily bread. Who knows if, some day,

Monsieur the Secretary-General of the C. T. I. will not be pleased to decree in the name of French thought that Einstein's theories are absurd or the idea of *patria*, the native land, highly injurious? It would not be much more remote from their first aim of protecting professional men's interests than inflation and pensions are.

M. Boulenger's sallies called out an explanation from the C. T. I. in the *Figaro* of February 8. The secretary stated that if the C. T. I. intervened in the matter of obligatory civil pensions it was merely to ensure such benefits to brain workers; if the Union protested against credit inflation, it was because the middle class of professional men suffered most from it. The secretary concludes:

It goes without saying that politics in the strict sense of the word do not lie within the province of the C. T. I. and that, for instance, we would not feel called upon to give our opinion as to the occupation of the Ruhr or on electoral reforms.

M. Boulenger rejoins that the C. T. I. understands very well the boundary line between professional and economic and political activities since its leaders themselves divided their report correctly.

Logically the C. T. I. will have to continue on its socialistic career and soon in the Chamber of Deputies two or three will rise in the name of the C. T. I. and air their views on psycho-analysis or monogamy in Turkey! But the richest joke of all is the announcement in the report that the C. T. I. had declared its opposition to M. Bérard's proposal to restore the classics to their old sway in secondary schools. This embarrasses the Society of Men of Letters, which is not only openly in favor of the Bérard bill, but always abstains from politics. It is the ironic fate of the savant, master and apprentice of the craft of *le bel dire* to see themselves drawn up willy-nilly in battle array against the humanities! Perhaps the C. T. I. will induce the legislators to forbid the teaching of Latin on French soil because of possible encouragement of a Franco-Italian alliance and a consequent fluctuation in the rate of exchange in favor of the lire whereby the middle class of painters and sculptors will be cheated on their Easter excursions to Rome!

The School Question in Alsace and Lorraine

THE roots of the stubborn and unsolved problem in Alsace-Lorraine run far back into medieval history, at least. The very name "Lorraine"—and still more clearly the adjective "Lotharingian"—recalls clearly the time when Karl the Great (Charlemagne) had left his mighty realm to his amiable and incompetent son, Louis "the Pious." During, as well as after, Louis' life-time the three quarrelsome grandsons repeatedly attempted a permanent division of Western Europe. Lothair, eldest and least fit, was heir to the Roman imperial crown, and was to rule a continuous Middle Kingdom, all the way from Italy to the North Sea, thus completely dividing the East and West Franks—or, in rough modern equivalents, Germany and France.

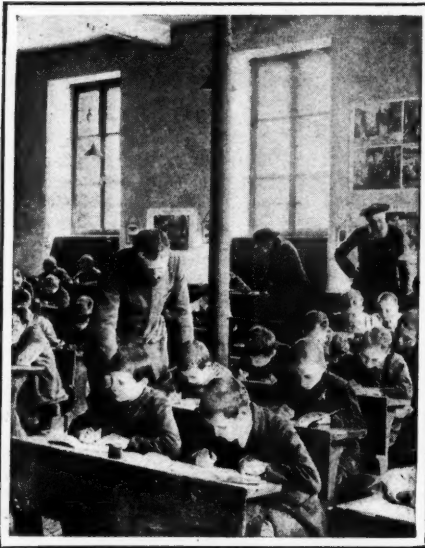
No such permanent settlement was ever accomplished. France and Germany have long since absorbed much of the Middle Kingdom. Burgundy, in particular, is no longer even a name, and its people are as loyally French as the Parisians themselves. Italy has quite forgotten that she ever welcomed eagerly such Frankish overlords. The Netherlands and Switzerland have no better memories of any allegiance to Kaiser or Reich. But these two fertile lands and hardy peoples on Rhine and Moselle have over and over again exchanged by conquest

their Eastern and Western masters. They have retained—perhaps even acquired—through this prolonged and grievous experience a local existence and character quite as sturdy and persistent as Dutch or Swiss.

Especially, their severe treatment by the Germans from 1870 to 1918 made them give an enthusiastic welcome to their "deliverers." Yet the people are overwhelmingly German in stock and speech. Even Daudet, in his pathetic little masterpiece, "The Last School-Day," reveals that in six generations, since their conquest by Louis XIV, they had not learned French, as even the unruly Normans did, between Rollo and William. Perhaps after all the best decision in 1919 might have been to make of them one or even two more buffer-states between the two great historic foemen—thus all but completing, under very different conditions, the dream of Louis.

Already the governors and teachers from "the interior" (of France) are stigmatized as aliens who "cannot understand us." The Germans declare gleefully that where they themselves failed the French policy will yet succeed—in making these Rhinelanders eager for "reunion with their Teutonic kinsfolk"!

The article by Ambroise Got in the *Mercure de France* of April 15th is a far



ALSATIAN CHILDREN IN A FRENCH SCHOOL

clearer, broader and calmer statement than has before appeared of the French methods and difficulties; but it is by no means altogether convincing.

We do not look forward to transforming the character, customs, traditions, or dialect of the Alsatian—all which constitutes his patrimony. So, too, we do not seek to prevent Corsica from cultivating her patois, nor Brittany her Celtic speech. There is room under France's sky for diversity of usages as of dialects. Is not that just what continually increases the charm, the picturesqueness, of old France? . . . But the Alsatian, after forty-eight years under German influences, must be impregnated with French culture, must learn to see and judge from the French point of view.

A combination of aims most difficult, if indeed possible! Though wholly governed from Paris, the three departments—"Upper and Lower Rhine, *i. e.*, Alsace, and Moselle, which is Lorraine—have been granted a purely advisory council, twenty-one of whose thirty-five members represent the people of the several communes. It is convened at Strasbourg four times a year. Financial and economic measures *must* be laid before it for free discussion, and any others may be, by the High Commissioner, who is himself appointed and fully empowered from Paris.

From the German-speaking Roman Catholic priests elected to this body comes the most general, persistent, and outspoken opposition, in particular, though by no means solely, to the present scheme of pop-

ular education. They demand complete control of all the religious instruction of their parishioners' children in school time, with the same rights granted to the 23 to 24 per cent. of Protestants and the few thousand Jews. To this end they insist that the first years' teaching shall be entirely in the various local dialects, the speech of the home and the confessional, or in a purer German. They condemn utterly the present exclusive use of French, taught by the "natural method" from the first day in school, and used as the vehicle of instruction for all other branches, while German is granted three hours a week, beginning several years later, as a foreign language.

The strength of this position lies in the fact that all grown-up native Alsations, and nearly all in Lorraine, use a Germanic dialect for all social purposes, and German for official and commercial documents; so a thousand imported teachers are undertaking to have the children's whole education divorced from their parents' speech. A very serious complication is, that to the great mass of native Alsatian teachers French is no less a foreign language, which they must painfully acquire even while imparting it to infants by the "natural method."

As to the actual results, so far as the children are concerned, roseate report is made:

An impartial examination of the work and the results obtained proves that the criticisms of the French school, of our methods, and our teachers of the metropolitan type are quite unfounded. The compositions and examinations compare favorably with those in neighboring (French) communities like Belfort and Nancy.

Yet there are three concessions made. First, the native teachers, with imperfect education or none in the schools and colleges of France, do not by any means obtain as good results as the thousand imported specialists. Again, the process can confessedly not be completed in the home environment:

In order that the assimilation of our language may be perfect, and that the next generation may at the same time be familiarized with French life, the children on leaving school must be able to go for some months into departments of "the interior," into families, to vacation colonies, to mingle with their French playmates—or even for an actual apprenticeship.

That will certainly arouse alarm in every Alsatian parent's soul. But another acknowledgment goes much deeper to the heart of the whole problem:

Certainly, we must admit the principle of bilingualism; that is to say, we ought not to sacrifice the idiom of the soil to the exclusive instruction in French. The introduction of our language ought not to eliminate wholly the knowledge of German.

Absolute ignorance of that language by the new generation, above all by the liberal classes, the commercial and industrial world, whose economic relations with Germany will be quite vital, would be in the future an unquestionable source of weakness. This necessity for knowing German is imperious so long as we are to occupy Rhineland, for we shall need officials acquainted with German just as long as we desire to maintain an active Rhenish policy. This same reasoning applies to the Saar, and to the

rural districts of Alsace and Lorraine of German speech. The new generation of officials, doctors, lawyers, business men, and engineers who graduate from our schools must be in a position to make themselves understood by the elder generation.

One might well devote an entire essay to the harm that has been done the French cause, quite as much in the three recovered departments as in the occupied regions, by those officials who, wholly ignorant of German, have had nothing but disdain for that language, and stigmatize as "Boches" all those who cannot express themselves accurately in French: as if the knowledge of a language necessarily implied a sentimental attachment to the country in which that language is the vernacular.

The Poisonous White Snakeroot

IN THE Middle West the white snake root has long been known as a dangerous poison plant which has caused many deaths to man and beast. In recent issues of the *Indiana Farmer's Guide* (Huntington, Ind.) Mr. Albert A. Hansen, of Purdue University, gives some facts about this poisonous weed and urges that it should be exterminated.

It appears that snakeroot grows in woodland only, and is rarely found in the open. It reaches its greatest development in open woods and along the borders of densely wooded tracts. In the pioneer days of Ohio and Indiana many deaths were due to milk sickness, caused by poisoned milk from cows that had grazed on white snakeroot. As the land was cleared for cultivation, the snakeroot gradually disappeared, but Mr. Hansen states that during the summer and fall of 1922 he found the weed on a dozen Indiana farms after many animals had died showing symptoms of plant poisoning. A few human deaths have been recorded during the last few years.

The true character of snakeroot, according to Mr. Hansen, has only recently been scientifically demonstrated. Experiments conducted by the United States Department of Agriculture at the North Carolina Agricultural Experiment Station definitely proved that the disease known as trembles in animals is caused by eating white snake-root and also that the poison is carried in the milk.

The symptoms of milk sickness were described to Mr. Hansen by a member of the faculty of Purdue University as follows:

"The sickness developed during fall. The first indication was a feeling of extreme nausea, which was followed by severe constipation, the intestines



THE FLOWERING TOP OF WHITE SNAKE-ROOT

(Note the dense clusters of small white flowers and the three prominent veins in each leaf. The leaves are opposite)

seeming to be completely paralyzed. Vomiting was frequent and violent, the appetite failed and the excessive vomiting caused muscular tremors. The house smelled strongly of sewer gas, which probably came from our breaths. The doctor also noticed a peculiar acid odor to the breath. The thing that puzzled the doctor most was the fact that delirium developed without any rise in temperature. I lost 70 pounds and was unable to work for many months. My wife, who suffered most severely of all, hasn't as yet fully recovered. She was delirious for a long time."

In attempting to destroy snakeroot that has been located on farms, Mr. Hansen advocates pulling out by the roots. Mowing will not suffice, since the roots are perennial.

The State of the German Mind

THE first German offer, in early May—of a reduced amount for reparations, presumably with some security as to its payment—no doubt marks the beginning of an end to be put to the extreme tension caused by the Franco-Belgian occupation of the Ruhr. Meantime there have been attainable few indications as to the real current of German ideas, particularly since the turn of the year. With the probable exception of certain Socialist organs, the *Deutsche Rundschau*, with its traditions of literature and culture rather than Kultur, might be expected to offer as rational and effective an appeal to the deliberate judgment of mankind as could be hoped for.

However, the April number, just received, gives evidence of little save hysteria and fever. The three leading articles, and the two most important regular departments, are devoted to the all but unutterable wrongs of a patient, long-buffed people.

The first words of the leading article, by Peter Weber, are:

In eternal loneliness was God. Out of a dream-thought of love, of longing that craved and craved,

he made the world. . . . But with it he created strife. Heaven was parent of Hell. . . . God was no longer solitary.

But the progress is swift indeed! Within a half-page we reach Jesus' words, "The Kingdom of God is within you," and their application:

When the life of a whole people is about to be throttled, when the rushing stream of its spirit is to be destroyed, which through a thousand generations descends directly from God, then God's own spirit rises up in mankind. The threatened life seizes its last and mightiest weapon: it drags down by force from Heaven to itself God's own might.

At the core of this same article is a long verbatim report, real or imagined, of a heated debate in a convention of German Social Democrats. The lie is freely passed back and forth; blows seem imminent. But, eventually, the official dictum, that only the righting of his own class wrongs is the laborer's concern, appears to be overruled by numbers:

"Yes, I repeat it: the Fatherland first, then the International. The workingmen's class has come to see that Germany's need is its need, Germany's misery its misery, that an end put to Germany is an end of its freedom, its rights, its social gains!"

Yet the close is again quite as epic, as dithyrambic, as the "Prolog im Himmel"—to borrow the fit title from Goethe's *Faust*:

The German people stands on its mount of agony. Scourged, spat upon, jeered at, its cross is made, its grave dug. O, German people, have faith in thine own might. Tear down the might of God from Heaven. Thou canst, thou must. Hearken! Already legions of spirits are intoning the chant of victory—*et resurrexit*.

The comparison here so frankly followed out has been even more startlingly developed in previous passages, in which "Golgotha," "Easter," and similar associations are freely appealed to. There is no thought of irreverence. The seer is himself at least without doubts or misgivings.

Immediately follows a brief direct discussion by Alfred von Wegerer on "The inroad into the Ruhr, and the responsibility for the World War":

The occupation is an open renewal of the war. If the other allies have not actually taken a hand in it, it is because their digestive disorders after the Versailles "peace" banquet are not yet subdued, and public opinion in the Anglo-Saxon lands and in Italy has partly awakened from the stupor induced



A CURRENT GERMAN CARTOON PRESENTING A TYPICAL CONCEPTION OF THE FRENCH ATTITUDE—"AN INVITATION TO GERMANY"

POINCARÉ: "Pray, come hither! The door to negotiations is open."

From *Simplicissimus* (Munich)

by the war propaganda. This time the power of the aggressors is so overwhelming that the defenders of orphan asylums, hospitals, factories and mines cannot even think of a military defense. The sense of justice among civilized men, which, to be sure, dwindles notably, is evidently horrified.

The Versailles Treaty is described, with apparent confidence of general assent, as "the source of all trouble." The writer also sees a general realization that "this venomous compact can be fundamentally altered only when its foundation-stone, viz., the thesis of Germany's sole responsibility for the War itself, has been removed." That this will come to pass is, "we suppose, nowhere questioned." Though the time is conceded to be hardly ripe for this exhaustive inquiry, which is to end the ills of Europe, the author proceeds to gather up eagerly whatever indications he can find, in foreign books, of the juster view. How scant is the gleaning may be fairly judged from his chief citation, which is from Professor Gooch's "European Diplomacy." It stands out in familiar English letters amid the Gothic type:

Bethmann's unsullied character and love of peace are as incontestable as his incapacity for his post. . . . The violation of Belgian neutrality roused the country to righteous anger; but it was the occasion rather than the cause of our entry into the war. . . . The outbreak of the Great War is the condemnation not only of the performers who strutted for a brief hour across the stage, but of the international an-

archy which they inherited and which they did nothing to abate.

On this problem, as to the chief guilt of 1914, the article closes strongly:

In this debate the division of forces is the same as on the Ruhr—on the one side violence, savagery and lying; on the German side, right and truth!

The third article of the group discusses "The Expulsion of German Settlers and Tenant-Farmers from Poland." The writer's name, Stanislaus von Uzarski, seems an assurance of impartiality. The story is a pathetic one, and in other days might, and may, arouse sympathy and active intercession. The hardships suffered by Germans in Alsace and Lorraine after the French occupation make similar injustice by their eastern protégés nowise incredible. It is decidedly refreshing to find no allusion at all to France in the entire article. The confiscatory law of July 14, 1920, has been disapproved by an international Commission of experts, and its application twice sharply condemned by the Council of the League of Nations; but the Polish Government is alleged to have connived at much local cruelty and injustice which can hardly be set right by any belated compensation. The tone of this article is notably objective and moderate and for that very reason convincing.

New Medicines from Germany

SOME remarkably interesting results have recently been obtained by European experimenters in the field of specific medicine. Thus Fibiger has succeeded in producing in rats by means of a diet of refuse cancer of the stomach. Moreover, the refuse acts as an intermediate host for certain intestinal worms, which are themselves the direct cause of the stomach cancer. This indicates, of course, that parasites play a definite rôle in the production of malignant tumors. It is not meant by this that there are characteristic parasites which produce cancer in the sense that the tubercle bacillus produces tuberculosis, the diphtheria bacillus produces diphtheria, and so forth. It is rather to be supposed that the cancer attacks an area which has been previously subject to inflammation—inflammation being caused, as

is well known, by all sorts of intruders in the living organism.

In a late number of *Reclam's Universum* (Leipzig), Dr. Carl Lewin, discusses these matters, saying:

This irritative rôle played by parasites of all sorts in occasioning malignant tumors is emphasized by the fact that it has recently been found possible to produce genuine malignant tumors in animals by means of an inflammation of the tissues produced by substances of purely chemical nature. It has long been known that workers in tar and paraffin are frequent sufferers from cancer. Yamagiwa in Japan and Fibiger in Copenhagen have recently succeeded in producing cancerous affections in white mice by surface applications of crude tar. Still further progress in this important line is indicated by the work done in Zurich by Bloch and Breyfuss, who have shown that the origin of the cancer is closely connected with a special substance capable of isolation from the tar.

Continuing the subject of chemical sub-

stances, Dr. Lewin remarks that a great many of them are capable of killing bacteria in a test-tube, but unfortunately they are so powerful as to make it dangerous to introduce them into the body, since the poisonous effects occasioned might be worse than the original infection. He goes on to make the highly interesting announcement that Morgenroth has recently discovered a chemical body which can be used to inject into infected tissues without affecting the general health of the patient. This substance is a derivative of quinine and has been named Vuzin. It exerts a curative action upon inflamed tissues without having any poisonous or injurious action on the body. Not content with this triumph Dr. Morgenroth has now announced the discovery of a new substance along similar lines which he terms Rivanol. This substance is derived from a certain

group of dyestuffs (acridin). The effectiveness of Rivanol is vouched for by the surgeons, Dr. Rosenstein and Dr. Klapp, in a late number of the *Deutschen Med. Woch.* Dr. Rosenstein injects the Rivanol in solutions of 1:1,000 in the infected tissue of boils, carbuncles, suppurated skin, inflammation of the breast and so forth. He states that this treatment weakens the vital force of the bacteria which caused the inflammation to such a degree that a very prompt cure is effected.

Likewise a rapid cure of erysipelas may be obtained by injecting the Rivanol round about the affected area. Dr. Klapp has used the Rivanol with distinguished success in certain cases of suppurated joints, injecting it into the joint after first drawing off the pus. Since Rivanol exerts a germicidal action upon the bacteria which cause the most various kinds of inflammation, it must be considered as forming a distinct addition to our Materia Medica.

Providing Landmarks for the Aviator

THE U. S. Army Air Service has recently established a Model Airway between Bolling Field, in the suburbs of Washington, D. C., and McCook Field, Dayton, Ohio. One of the problems that are being worked out in connection with this undertaking is the provision of suitable markings at numerous points along the route. After a long period of flying when visibility is poor, a pilot often has great difficulty in determining his location. It is an obvious advantage to have the names of cities and towns conspicuously displayed for his guidance, and also to provide marks which will lead him to safe landing grounds. More than ninety towns along the Model Airway have already been marked. With the progress of aviation, aeronautical landmarks will eventually be required all over the country. A number of suggestions as to how such marks can best be provided and the characteristics they should possess are offered in the *Aeronautical Digest* (New York City) by Lieut. Lester J. Maitland, U. S. A., an officer who is known to fame as the holder of the world's speed record in aviation.

The methods that have been tried for indicating the location of landing facilities include the placing of a large white "T" on the ground, the use of arrows, and the laying down of a large white circle. The

last plan has proved most satisfactory, and fields throughout the country are now being marked with a 100-foot circle, consisting of a band four feet wide. This is generally made with ground rock, laid in a shallow trench, so as to be flush with the ground. The rock is whitewashed, and if kept white is visible for many miles. On a yellow sandy soil a black circle is substituted. A temporary black circle is also provided when snow is on the ground, by laying black cloth or paper on the marker.

The writer gives instructions for laying out near a town an "International Identification Marker," which shows not only the name of the town but also its approximate latitude and longitude. We read:

The International Convention for Air Regulations, held in Paris in 1919, recommended the adoption of an identification marker for airways and landing facilities. This International Identification Marker should, in the case of the larger fields, be placed in the northwest corner of the field, with the name of the town or the name of the field accompanying it. The installation of the marker at the Air Service Engineering Division Field (McCook Field) is shown in the sketch headed "Dayton."

(If you consult the map of Ohio you will see that Dayton is situated in the northeastern part of the one-degree square bounded on the south by the 39th parallel of latitude and on the west by the 85th

meridian of longitude.) With this in mind, the following explanation will be clear:

The open sided rectangle represents the lower or upper half of the rectangle, formed on the map by the lines of the latitude and longitude. The dot inside represents your town and its relative location on the map, being placed in the upper or lower half of the rectangle, as the case may be. The numbers indicate the latitude and longitude of the south and west sides of this rectangle.

For example, if your town is in the rectangle whose south and west sides are formed by the lines 39 deg. latitude and 80 deg. longitude, respectively, then your diagram will have number 9 placed on the left and 0 on the right, the latitude number on the right.

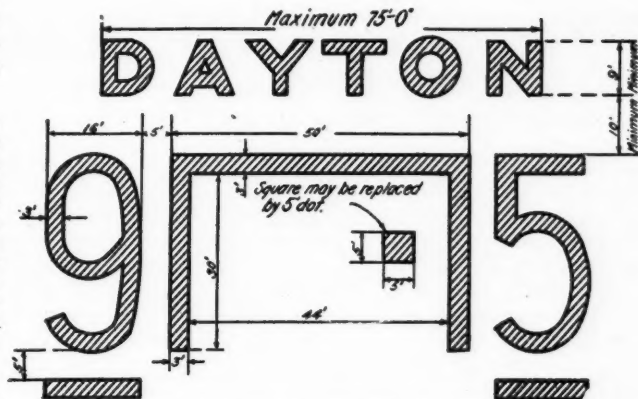
The last number in each case is considered sufficient, because the points 20 and 70 or 40 and 90 are approximately 400 miles away on either side, and the aerial navigator will not be confused as to their identity, for he generally knows within much less than 600 miles where he is. The remainder of the sketch is self-explanatory.

In flying cross-country the pilot experiences considerable difficulty in many instances, in identifying towns over which he is passing, owing to the fact that so many of them are similarly located with reference to railroads and are of about the same size and shape. The automobile tourist is informed of the proximity of a town as he approaches it by the location of signs along the highway; but the air pilot cannot read these signs. Consequently, it is necessary for the town to identify itself from aloft.

One of the best means has been found to be the placing of the name of the town on a large building close to the railroad near the outer edge of the built-up section of the town, in order that the pilot, by following the railroad in seeking direction will not be compelled to fly across the town in order to ascertain its identity.

In order to study the markers of this character, the Army Air Service has recently placed approximately ninety-five such names along the airway between Washington, D. C., and Dayton, Ohio, a distance of 400 miles.

To open the way for carrying out the system whereby communities will use the roofs of railroad stations, where other large buildings are not available, the Army Air Service has taken up with the American Railway Association the question of obtaining authority from the various railroads for the placing of these markers. The American Railway Association, after a study by a committee, approved the proposition in general. Its board of Directors referred the matter to the presidents of the various railroads over which the Air Mail planes pass on the route from New York to San Francisco, and over which the Army Air Service planes are now flying in carrying out the schedule of operations on the Model Airway. It is the hope of the Army Air Service, and all organizations interested in aviation, that communities throughout the country will awaken to this need and install the name markers.



IDENTIFICATION MARKER FOR DAYTON, OHIO

It is not only of value to have the name readily seen at the town when the pilot is passing over it, but many times it is of great assistance to know that there is a town at a certain distance and in a certain direction from where he finds himself at any position of his flight. Consequently, the Army Air Service has given study to the feasibility of placing this information on large commercial advertising signs. It is believed that, with the proper interest taken in this type of advertising, the towns themselves could arrange with various advertising sign companies to place the large arrows showing the distance to the towns on the various large commercial signs found in a vicinity.

In flying cross-country it has been found that some localities have already recognized the broad utility of placing the name of the town on some large tank, such as a stand pipe, oil storage tank or gas holder, as the public is attracted by such displays, and the name has not only served the flier, but the public in general. The town of Wheaton, Illinois, has so advertised itself, and the writer was fortunate in being able to see this marker for some distance as he was flying from the west toward Chicago.

Large signs on the roofs of grandstands at amusement places, such as baseball parks or race tracks, afford a very good background for the placing of the name of the town, and are the means of advertising the community to the traveler utilizing this new means of transportation.

The importance of these landmarks in cross-country flying was illustrated on the recent transcontinental flight of Lieutenants Kelly and Macready. At night, when the aviator is trusting to his compass to keep him on his course, the beams of searchlights are heartily appreciated if the place of their origin is known. In his account of the flight from New York to San Diego Lieutenant Macready mentions the thrill caused by a huge beam of light projecting up through the clouds from Belleville, Illinois. This light aided the aviators to continue their course to the Missouri River.

Socialism in Yucatan

THE firm hold which socialism has secured in Mexico, particularly in the province of Yucatan, is not perhaps generally realized. Yet "Mexico was Bolshevik before Bolshevism," says Carlos Loveira in a lengthy article appearing in the January and February issues of *Cuba Contemporánea* (Havana).

The writer gives first a brief résumé of the social conditions before and during the Diaz régime—conditions which in their very nature must inevitably have made the province of Yucatan a fertile field for "Red" propaganda. And it was not long after the revolution initiated by Madero that Bolshevistic tendencies became evident. Their true significance was not at that time realized, nor did they attract the attention accorded by the nations to the same phenomena in Russia. Nevertheless, they exerted no little influence upon the then current political thought of Latin-America.

That these tendencies were an outcome of the iron rule of Diaz is the general opinion, though Señor Loveira does not deny that during Diaz's period of control the country benefited through the construction of public works, the stabilization of the public debt, the development of natural resources, the building of stately palaces and broad avenues in the City of Mexico, and in other ways. But all this outward grandeur had its extreme opposite in the unspeakable degradation and misery of the great mass of the people. Of this he says:

In the country districts, the situation well merited that "Barbarous Mexico," the celebrated book which scandalously revealed to the rest of America the horrors of the Valley of Mexico and other regions of the country. The Indians form the mass of Mexico's agricultural workers, and through tradition conserve the record of a semi-communistic state in which lived their ancestors before being conquered by the Spaniards, and in which live today the inhabitants of some remote regions . . . The lands on which the Indian lived, cultivating them for his own advantage and for that of his own kind, after passing to the colonial government, were converted into latifundia, and from these at times without great subdivisions, arose the famous haciendas. To the haciendas was brought the indigent Mexican, and there he was obliged to work from sun to sun, barefooted, half-naked, hungry, subject to terrible corporal punishments, verily converted into a beast of burden. Spending his niggardly wages in the celebrated "frontier" stores, the Indian never balanced his account with his master . . . and while in debt with the hacienda he was not per-

mitted to abandon it to seek work in another. He developed, in fact, into an actual slave; a slavery virtually hereditary, because the debt went on from father to son indefinitely.

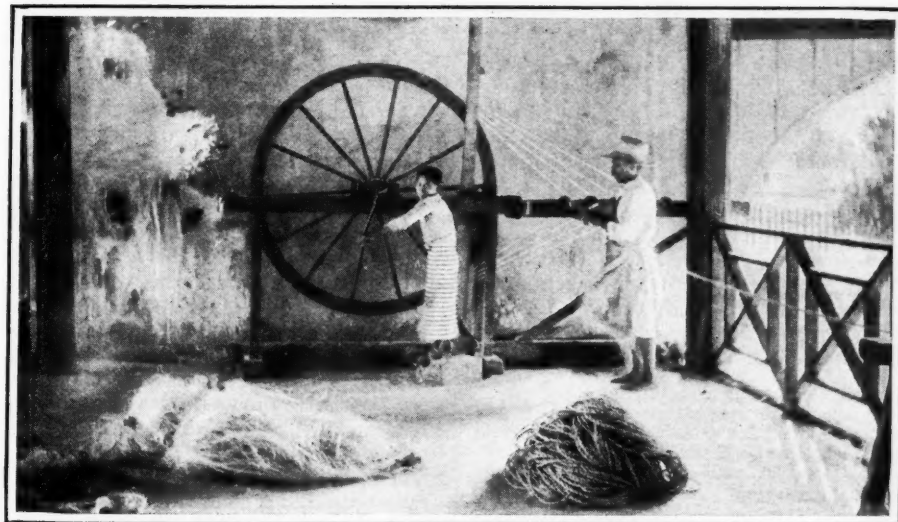
(The Yucatan Indian, it may be remarked in passing, speaks a Maya dialect, comprehending scarcely more than one hundred words of Spanish.)

According to Dr. Castillo Torre—a foremost intellectual figure in Yucatan—whom Señor Loveira quotes, Mexico's break with Spain, far from being inspired by liberal motives, was merely a movement of the privileged land owners to protect their interests, in view of the fact that Spain had just previously granted full citizenship to her Indian subjects. The potential dangers of Spanish interference with the system of semi-slavery having been obviated, the controlling classes were not slow to take advantage of their position, and their hold upon the *peones* during the following decades became even more tenacious than before Mexico's attainment of independence.

Yucatan, in particular, at the beginning of the present century had acquired notoriety as a land of slavery and medieval barbarities.

It was a land peculiarly ripe for the seed of revolution, now made impossible of contravention, in spite of all obstacles, with ever increasing faith and vitality, by a people who appear convinced that to stop in their course is to return to the horrors of the past.

The overthrow of the established powers was not, however, accomplished easily. The seeds of liberalism first pushed up a few weak sprouts through the League of Social Action, composed of a few "little intellectuals" among the wealthy element of the province. Inasmuch as the aforementioned society's activities were for a large part purely academic and consisted in little more than animated discussions in salons, it was left unmolested by the authorities. But it was not long before returning students brought back with them echoes of the philosophies of Darwin, Spencer, Kropotkin, Gorky, Zola, and others, and more active and far-reaching measures began to be taken. Most prominent among those engaged in the spread of propaganda was Felipe Carrillo Puerto, the present Socialist Governor of the Province, who between intervals of imprisonment worked among



SPINNING SISAL FOR MAKING ROPE FOR HOME CONSUMPTION IN YUCATAN

(Yucatan exports a quarter of a billion pounds of sisal fiber to the United States)

the Indians of the haciendas from dawn to dark. His labors did not cease with the coming of night, which time he reserved for the holding of secret meetings among his "catechumens," to whom he read from various inflammatory tracts. Carrillo and other leaders were subjected to unrelenting persecution, to deportation and extremes of cruelty, but the work went on.

When the Maderist revolt against Diaz began these groups of radicals were not slow in offering their services to its leader. In his cause the most fervent activity was perhaps shown by the Union of Railroad Workers, since that time to the present the bulwark of Yucatecan socialism. The fortunes of the radicals were of course subject to the vicissitudes of the innumerable revolutions and counter-revolutions, but with the fall of Carranza reaction in Yucatan came definitely to an end. The Leagues of Resistance, headed by Felipe Carrillo, the present Governor, then assumed power and have succeeded in bringing at least a semblance of order out of an almost anarchic state of affairs. Of one of these Leagues the writer says:

In the Central League of Resistance, established in Merida, which is the headquarters of the social and political activities of the socialists, there is the principal office where is transacted almost all the business of the Governor, Felipe Carrillo, the man on whose shoulders rests the responsibility for this politico-social movement of unparalleled importance in the Latin-American life of the present. In the

Central League of Resistance are edited and distributed periodicals and pamphlets for propaganda, pedagogic tourneys are held . . . there are fomented feminism and theorizations concerning homoculture, birth control, popular universities, pacifism, eugenics and futurism. There are celebrated also the so-called socialist baptisms, which consist in the presentation "in society" of the youth or maiden, naked, covered with red flowers, through the medium of a discourse which Carrillo generally pronounces, whose words of equality, fraternity and love, are summed up in the strains of the *Marseillaise* or the *Internationale*.

The Workers' Congress recently held in the city of Izamal, has advocated in its platform, among other things, measures for coördinating the activities of the Leagues of Resistance, extending their power, securing control of the landed wealth of the State, and its proper division among the workers.

As evidence of the influence which has been attained by the Socialists in the provinces of Yucatan and Campeche, the writer notes, in concluding, the fact that they control the governorship and the local legislature in the first-named State and play an important part in the government of the second. They send six deputies and two senators to the National Congress, and judging by the results of recent partial elections their triumph will soon be complete. The Union of Railroad Workers seems to provide a substantial bulwark against an incipient Fascism.

Do We Worship Our Literary Ancestors?

A DELIGHTFUL bit of literary treasure trove comes to hand in the form of an essay, hitherto unpublished, upon the value of the "classics" by Ernest Renan, whose centenary is being observed this year. Though written while he was still a student, this document already shows much of the ironic humor, the logic and the critical acumen which later helped to make famous the author of "The Life of Christ." We quote the following paragraphs from *La Revue Mondiale* (Paris):

In the literary life of nations there comes ordinarily a period when the national spirit seems to turn towards its cradle and to cherish with a fresh delight the fathers of its intellectual development.

This taste for antiquity, moreover, is quite natural to mankind, and is related to that filial piety which makes us love all those from whom we have received some spark of life and of truth. When the remote past has assumed the aspect of a temple, men like to surround it with a sacred aureole and to kiss with religious respect those monumental stones which form the foundation of the edifice of their intellectual life. All primitive and illiterate nations regard as being inspired the ancient book, which has accompanied and refreshed them in their march down the centuries. They think it impossible to pay too much honor to their ancestors, supposing these to have once lived nearer to God than themselves. Literate and learned nations profess the same respect for the fathers of their literature.

Greece, whose religion offers the peculiarity, perhaps unique, of possessing no book reputed to be a divine revelation, seems to supply the place of the sacred books which it lacks by the cult of its ancient poets. Homer received almost religious honors in the schools of grammar and philosophy, which came to look upon the works which bore his name, as a repertory of irrefragable texts for the solution of questions of philology and religion.

His poems became almost sacred and they gathered around them all those exegetical and critical sciences with which peoples are accustomed to surround the book which is the repository of their beliefs. They even sought to find within it various mysteries in their minutest details, and it is possible to discover in the criticism thus applied the germs of that spirit which elsewhere cradled the subtleties and the intricacies of the Kabala. Nothing was regarded as being due to chance in a work regarded as sacred.

The Latin literature, which felt itself to be younger and which possessed no fabulous cradles in the abyss of time, partook none the less of this retrospective fantasy. Indeed, while ordinarily it was verses of these classics which were admired and imitated in the following century, whether in the poetry of Virgil, the prose of Cicero, or the two literary divinities of the writers of the Latin decadent period, they did not fail likewise to honor with a sort of filial piety the fathers of their development, and the names of Accius, Ennius, Pacuvius, and Lucilius continue to be surrounded with religious veneration.

M. Renan remarks that even in the time of Horace when the satirist ventured to point out certain faults in Ineclius (though he did not lack any formal respect for the latter's writings) the matter became a scandal and defenders of the ancient poets arose on every side. He mentions other minor names which were still held in reverence and remarks that the comedies of Plautus and Terence held the Latin stage till the last moments of its existence. Turning to the modern literatures he finds that this sort of indiscriminating reverence has been even more pronounced. He acknowledges the justice of English pride in the works of Chaucer and of Shakespeare because of their intrinsic excellence, but observes that it is a characteristic feature of this sort of literary ancestor worship that in the 18th century MacPherson and Chatterton found no better means of attaining a fashionable vogue than by assuming the names of ancient poets.

Germany, of all nations the most attached to its literary tradition, professes a sort of poetic cult for its Minnesingers, and the antique songs of the *Nibelungen*. . . . It is well known with what ardor toward the end of the 18th century the greatest geniuses of this nation, such as Klopstock, the two Schlegels, Haller and Novalis, enlisted under the banner of these old Germanic songs for the conquest of a new ideal. France itself, so long disdainful of its literary past . . . retraced its steps at last, regretting to have so long denied its ancestors. . . . This devotion, quite legitimate, when engaged in rehabilitating writers who had been too severely judged, had something of the ridiculous in it, like all reactionary movements in those weak minds who merely follow the fashion of the moment . . . and it was not only Amyot and Montaigne, Marot and Rabelais, who were termed delicious and inimitable; it was not only Ronsard and his Pleiades whose rehabilitation was ardently proclaimed; the critics went far beyond these to that remote era which the century of Louis XIV would have scarce consented to designate as belonging to French literature. The Middle Ages and their poetry became the literature *à la mode*; in order to be interesting one was obliged to talk of them and to repeat after W. Schlegel that it was there that the true French literature must be sought.

If this had been an opinion proclaimed only by a few of the erudite, I should regard it as being readily explicable. For independently of the real merit of the works which formed the object of their labors, they can do no other than profess a supreme admiration for the books which have cost them so much sweat. It would be really too hard to have consecrated years of labor to the deciphering of a work unless the latter were truly admirable. But since other persons did the same thing we must seek for other causes.

Independently of that literary piety which particularly at certain epochs draws us toward the past, ancient authors will always have for us a certain charm which cannot be equalled by modern productions—this is because they present to us a world and an intellectual state which is very different from those of our own environment. We must guard indeed against the belief that the literary taste of a people is always a certain index of the state of society and the supposition that the work, which best represents the practical customs of the moment, is necessarily that which has the most charm for the imagination.

The imagination, according to our critic, likes to divert itself with ideals which no longer exist and the authors most relished are often those "whose naïveté and abandon, con-



ERNEST RENAN, 1823-92

trasting with the refinement and mannered tone of the century, offer a refreshing change from the present aspect of things."

Botanizing with the Nose

WRITING in the *Nature Magazine* (Washington, D. C.) of "Wild Odors and Where to Find Them," Mr. Fred E. Brooks tells of some of his adventures in tracking wild plants to their lairs by means of the least exercised of human senses—the olfactory one. Undoubtedly some naturalists are more expert with their noses than others. Some years ago we reviewed in these columns a monograph published by the unimpeachably authoritative Smithsonian Institution, in which the author, an entomologist of note, recorded his remarkable smelling experiences among the bees. The feats therein set forth are equaled, in a different field of natural history, by the nasal skill of Mr. Brooks in distinguishing two strongly contrasted odors in the golden ragwort, and in such experiences as the following:

In walking through the woods in April I caught a fleeting but distinct odor which seemed identical with that of the pink lady's-slipper (*Cypripedium acaule*). The odor was soon lost but when I retraced my steps I caught it again at the same point in the path. The blooming time of the lady's-slipper was still some weeks in the future and I began looking about for some other flower which I supposed might be duplicating its smell. No flower was found, but about thirty feet from where the scent was first discovered I came upon a little natural bed of the still unexpanded leaves of the lady's-slipper

protruding through the leaf mold. Kneeling, I smelled them and found that the fleshy leaf-spikes were almost as sweet-scented as the flowers which would appear later. Many times since then I have located in early spring these unopened leaves of the pink lady's-slipper by their far-flung and delightful perfume.

Let us open our nostrils as well as our eyes when we go botanizing. We shall become familiar with a greater variety of odors than our vocabulary is able to describe. It is a paradox, often dwelt upon, that the individuality of smells is almost completely obliterated in the adjectives applied to them. As the writer says:

If we wish to convey to another our impression of a bright color we may say it is red, and then further define our exact meaning by the terms crimson, scarlet or cardinal. The color of a wild rose is pink, but we cannot so simply and so definitely describe its odor. Our language has not the necessary words. The best we can do is to make comparisons with other odors and borrow descriptive words, such as "sweet," "delicious" and "delicate"—words more frequently used in connection with the sense of taste, words, also, which describe with equal indefiniteness the fragrance of many other flowers.

If language were only adequate to the task, the naturalist might construct a calendar of odors, as a supplement to the existing "floral calendars." Mr. Brooks enumerates the principal odoriferous plants

in their annual sequence, even though he is unable to describe the scents they exhale. He tells us:

Flowers and other agencies appear and broadcast odors for a few hours, or a few days, and then cease to function in that way. These are followed by other scent-producing forms of life, and, altogether, a somewhat constant sequence of odors is maintained throughout the year. In our eastern woods, among the very first flowers of spring to perfume the air are those of the spice-bush. The flowers are small and inconspicuous, but their odor is sweet and delicate and has in it the essence of spring. The spice-bush blossoms are followed in rapid succession by many others. John Burroughs said there are upwards of forty species of fragrant native flowers in New England and New York. There are certainly more than forty, but not all of them send their perfumes far abroad.

The blossoms of locust, wild grape, wild crab, and our several species of native azalea give off

odors in spring which are wafted far away. Of all our native shrubs, none is more delightful in the fragrance of its blossoms than the clammy azalea, or, as it is sometimes called, the sweet-scented water honeysuckle. This shrub grows along the banks of wooded streams and in other moist, shaded situations and its lovely, waxen-white flowers reveal their presence by sending throughout their locality a perfume that is indescribably sweet and delicate.

The bursting leaf-buds of birch and wistaria, the flowers of the sugar maple and the blossoms of our common elder have diffusive odors. When the male catkins of the chestnut tree take on their creamy color one can hardly escape the musky and rather pleasant scent which is flung afar. Ripening wild strawberries and fox grapes advertise their presence to a considerable distance by their hunger-exciting odors. The fragrant fern has a lasting perfume which has been likened by various observers to the odors of new-mown hay, rose petals, primroses and strawberries. The boulder fern, and other ferns, have, also, far-borne odors.

Protecting the Wild Flowers

GENERALLY speaking, lovers of beauty are not prone to acts of vandalism, yet a fondness for wild flowers has led to their widespread destruction. None too soon the public conscience is being awakened on this subject. The campaign of education that was needed to save many of our beautiful native plants from extermination is now being conducted by the Wild Flower Preservation Society of America, with its headquarters at the New York Botanical Garden and branches in several cities and towns throughout the Eastern and Central States. In New England similar work is carried on by an older organization, the Society for the Protection of Native New England Plants. The Garden Club of America has a Wild Flower Preservation Section, and, lastly, women's clubs in many parts of the country are co-operating with the Wild Flower Preservation Society, especially in distributing literature and posters.

Some commonly ignored aspects of wild flower protection are pointed out in *Nature Magazine* (Washington, D. C.) by P. L. Ricker, secretary of the Washington chapter of the national organization above mentioned. Since flowers are the means of perpetuating the various plant species, their destruction tends to produce the same disastrous effects as deforestation. Mr. Ricker says:

Nature strives to maintain a balance among plants as among animals, but man is often a very

deciding factor as to the abundance or scarcity of living things. Everyone is familiar with the destruction being caused by the wood and paper manufacturing industries, with very little replacement for future generations, but few probably realize that the smaller plants of our fields and particular woods are of vital importance in maintaining a balance in nature. In uncultivated fields volunteer plants from seeds, scattered by the wind and birds, prevent erosion and these fields from becoming barren wastes. In the woods similar plants form a ground cover essential to the retaining of moisture for plant growth and on forest slopes they prevent serious erosion. These trees are also fully as essential on slopes for the maintenance of the shade-loving ground cover. Together they hold back the delivery of heavy rains to the river and subsequent floods below. The denuding of our river slopes is largely responsible both for floods and the drying up of streams in the summer, closing manufacturing plants and rendering the streams unnavigable.

Most people doubtless think of the growing custom of planting wild flowers in gardens as a means of protecting and preserving these plants, but the writer says:

Many nurserymen are now specializing in supplying wild flowers for gardens, and thousands of rare orchids and other equally rare plants have been taken up and replanted in private grounds, entirely exterminating the species in some localities. The cultivation of wild flowers is commendable, but until nurserymen make some attempt to increase the supply and fill orders for the rarer kinds from stock they have propagated from cuttings, root divisions or seeds, they are a decided menace to the cause of conservation. Many wild plants, such as the cinnamon and royal fern, brake, club mosses, anemone, pipissewa, wood lily, dwarf cornel, wintergreen, wood sorrel, moss pink, painted trillium, pitcher plant, pink lady's slipper, fringed

orchis, mountain laurel, and native rhododendron will soon die out unless a satisfactory acid soil condition is provided for them. Lime, stable manure, and the usual commercial fertilizers only shorten their life and they cannot be successfully grown in the average garden. Only with a specially prepared good-sized bed of the best wood loam, a foot or two deep, and the right shade and moisture conditions, will they succeed. Water for watering them must not be alkaline in the slightest degree, and litmus paper is not a sufficiently delicate test of this condition. Special dye indicators are necessary for this purpose. In the absence of a neutral or acid water supply, rain-water caught in a wooden barrel may be used, or slightly alkaline water may be rendered satisfactorily acid by keeping a quantity of decaying chips or sawdust in the barrel. It is an all too common sight to see in markets large quantities of such acid loving plants as the pink lady's slipper, with roots and a small ball of native soil, offered for sale at twenty-five cents each. It may be safely assumed that none of such plants long survive transplanting to pots and home gardens.

Perhaps the most novel idea propounded by Mr. Ricker is that the practice of adopting "State Flowers" is, in many cases, a serious menace to the plants thus honored. We read:

The unfortunate practices of making some of the rarer flowers State flowers has increased their scarcity very materially, notably the mayflower or trailing arbutus in Massachusetts. Efforts are now being made there to have it protected by law, but thus far such laws have been very little enforced in this country except possibly in parks. Minnesota has likewise adopted a rapidly disappearing State emblem, the moccasin flower or lady's slipper, and Connecticut the mountain laurel, rare there but abundant in the Southern States. Colorado has adopted the columbine which occurs there in blue and also combinations of blue, white and yellow. Around the larger towns and tourist points it is becoming rare, but in the more distant unsettled regions it is still common in many places. In the east the closely related red columbine is found very sparingly in open rocky places with little or no soil for root growth except in occasional small crevices. The picking of this flower usually results in pulling up the whole plant, as is the case with the mayflower in Massachusetts and elsewhere.

Other States, like Alabama, Kentucky, Missouri and Nebraska, have adopted the goldenrod as the State flower. From all standpoints this is an excellent choice, as it is good for decorative purposes, and on account of its abundant seed dispersal by the wind, it is in no danger of extermination. Unlike most other plants, it is found in every State in the country, and would make a most satisfactory and typical national flower. Sentimental objections to it as a cause of hay fever are not weighty, as it is an insect pollinated plant, and about 99.9 per cent. of hay fever cases are known to be caused by wind pollinated plants. The California poppy, the most abundant, and the most characteristic of a State, of any State flower, is another fortunate selection which can be picked freely without danger of bringing about extermination.

Several other States besides Massachusetts have

adopted or are considering laws for the protection of their rare native plants. Connecticut protects the mountain laurel, trailing arbutus, and Hartford fern, and California the Toyon or Christmas berry. The Vermont law names specifically about forty-five flowers, trees, ferns and mosses. Maryland has a very broad law covering the taking or destruction of any plant material without the consent or personal supervision of the owner, and a number of convictions have been obtained under the provisions of this law.

Among the greatest offenders of nature and propriety are the street and market vendors who offer rare flowers and decorative material for sale. These have in the great majority of cases been taken without the knowledge or consent of the owner. Laws exist in most States under which these offenders could be prosecuted at the source, but the necessary evidence is often difficult to obtain, especially in sparsely settled regions.

The writer gives comprehensive lists of the flowers that should not be picked, and of those that may be picked sparingly or in abundance. As the most effective measure of protection he urges the widespread use of posters similar to the following:]

PROTECT OUR RARE NATIVE PLANTS

Many kinds are disappearing from our fields and woods.

Pick these very sparingly, especially if near a large town or tourist point.

Do not buy rare wild flowers from street vendors or florists.

Do not pull them up by the roots, and leave plenty to go to seed, that all may enjoy them another year.

Pick other flowers in moderation unless abundant or weedy.

Do not break or tear off woody flowering branches. Cut them close to the base, so the wound may heal over and prevent fungous diseases from entering.

Do not drop lighted matches, cigars or cigarettes in the woods or fields, or burn them intentionally, as burning destroys humus in the soil necessary for the growth of desirable plants and causes them to be replaced by troublesome weeds.

For further information and your nearest chapter, address

WILD FLOWER PRESERVATION SOCIETY
OF AMERICA

Botanical Garden, Bronx Park, N. Y. City
3740 Oliver St., Washington, D. C.
5744 Kimbark Ave., Chicago.

Arbutus, ground-pine and other plants growing from long, creeping stems should never be torn out. Some of the most attractive of these plants are rapidly becoming extinct in the Eastern States.

News from Nature's World

One of Our Guests from Brazil

THE birds are back again and their always wonderful migratory return never fails to bring a thrill. Many of them, of course, have been no further away than our Southern States, or the near West Indies. But the bobolink, for example, gay minstrel of the summer meadows, has come from the far-away pampas of Brazil and Bolivia—from almost as far away as the fabled "far Cathay," the poets sing about. Immediately upon his return Bob will have some sins to answer for, which as a matter of fact, he doesn't commit, according to the Biological Survey of the Department of Agriculture (Farmers' Bulletin, No. 630, p. 19), which protests that since the change in the rice-growing districts of the South, he does no more damage there.

Other Pilgrims Here

To enumerate the pilgrims in this remarkable hejira, would be a difficult task even for a trained observer. Occasional attempts to make an actual census, even of the birds of certain small districts, have produced some bewildering statistics. The American Museum of Natural History, in New York City, displays some 500 species, known to be found within fifty miles of the metropolis, yet the Boy Scout merit-badge, which demands only fifty species, is seldom awarded, in good faith, because most boys of the usual "scout age" (twelve to fourteen), are incapable of sustaining the weeks of patient study and close observation necessary to win it.

The Indigo Bird

Of frequent occurrence (once the bushes are grown in the summer months) is the common indigo bird, which sings, rather obstreperously, especially in the weedy lots. He was well known to that keen observer, Mr. John Burroughs, who wrote about him as follows:

The indigo bird is a common summer resident with us—a bird of the groves and bushy lots where his bright song may be heard all through the long summer day. I hear it in the dry and parched August when most birds are silent, sometimes delivered on the wing and sometimes from the perch. Its color is much more intense than that of the common bluebird, but its note is less mellow and tender.

A "Mistake" of Nature

A certain well-known French naturalist once wanted to know how Nature happened to make such a mistake about the crossbills—birds whose bills cross naturally, near the points, and seem like hopeless malformations. The Frenchman might have saved his sneer, by a little close observation. The common American crossbill is one of the early migrants, and breeds mainly in the Canadian forests, chiefly among the coniferous trees. It feeds freely upon the seeds of the pine cones, which grow at the base of the closely lapped scales. The present writer has seen a crossbill alight on one of these cones and thrust his bill against its side. The operation which followed was plainly observed through powerful binoculars. Immediately, the bird began *opening* its bill, with the result that the scales were torn off in veritable showers, the bird meanwhile seizing the seeds in its specially adapted tongue. After observing the operation for a while, the observer turned away with the conviction that what he had witnessed, far from being a malformation and a "mistake" of nature, was really a *special adaptation* cleverly applied. The seeds of the pine cones are well protected against the bills of most birds—or, at any rate, the crossbills seem to have the best chance at them.

Effect of Altitude on Flowers

In a report recently made to the French Academy of Sciences, M. Bourget offered proof of the interesting fact that flowers growing on mountain slopes exhibit the most brilliant colorization at the edge of melting snow, under the action of intense solar radiation. The phenomenon is favored, furthermore, by the presence of certain kinds of soil—particularly a clay soil. The effect of the environment is very marked indeed. There is an obvious ionization, the active agent of which appears to be the ultra-violet radiation. The radio-activity of the soil plays an important part in determining atmospheric ionization and this explains the effect exerted by the clay soils, which are especially radio-active in character; moreover, the *gamma* rays are productive of chemical reaction. The theory in question is further confirmed by a purely

physical fact, namely, the change of color of ordinary white glass to an amethyst tint, which is found to be more pronounced in the same locality where the flowers are most vividly colored (crevices sheltered from the wind, southern exposure, naked clay soil). If one places fragments of glass in locations such as above indicated and allows them to remain for several months, they are observed to acquire a violet-amethyst tone throughout their entire mass. This color is permanent, but is destroyed by heat and does not reappear when the glass is cooled. The intensity of the color is augmented in proportion to the length of time during which it is exposed and also with the altitude.

Strangely enough, a considerable influence is exerted by the shape of the pieces of glass as well as by their orientation with respect to the ground. Thus, fragments having a plane surface, such as fragments of window glass, do not acquire a color, whereas curved bits of glass such as scraps of bottles, readily become colored, if their concave side is turned toward the ground. The deepest color produced is that of a glass which is turned upside down so as to form a tight enclosure with the ground.

The English physicist, Crookes, has pointed out the natural change of color of glass to a violet-amethyst at a high altitude; this same coloration is obtained in the laboratory by U-V rays, by X-rays, by the gamma rays of radio-active bodies, acting on glass containing manganese according to Marcelin and Daniel Berthelot, the manganese being requisite. As to the importance of the conditions indicated above as advantageous, this is explained by the special radio-activity found in clay soils and by the accumulation of the emanation in enclosed spaces and in crevices sheltered from the wind.

Feeding Animals on Mushrooms

It is pretty well known to the public that many varieties of fungi or "mushrooms" are not only appetizing, whether served as a relish with meat dishes or eaten alone, but also have considerable nutritive value. From time to time articles appear urging the public to make wider use of the many edible varieties of fungi, which grow wild in our woods and meadows. Unfortunately the fact that some species are not only harmful, but even swiftly fatal, such as the deadly *Amanita*, which closely resembles the ordinary table mushroom,

except for the easily overlooked "poison cup" at its base, makes many people afraid to try experiments. Everyone, however, who possesses domestic animals will learn with interest that the latter can be advantageously fed on all sorts of fungi, including even those that are poisonous to mankind, provided these latter be first boiled and the water in which they are cooked poured off.

The experiments upon which this information is based were made by Dr. Raebiger, the director of the Bacteriological Institute of the Board of Agriculture in Halle. Tests were made not only of a mixture of poisonous and non-poisonous fungi, but also of a lot consisting of poisonous specimens alone. Dr. Raebiger found that even these could be fed (when boiled as described above) in amounts varying from two to twelve pounds per animal per day, without fatal results. It is true, however, that such fodder caused symptoms of illness and loss of appetite, from which the animals soon recovered. The point of this is, according to the investigator, that in gathering fungus growth for feeding animals, it is unnecessary to use scrupulous care to avoid a mixture of poisonous species with harmless species, provided, of course, the precaution mentioned be observed.

Aurora Borealis and Boreas

A curious bit of woodcraft (of uncertain scientific value) which seems to prevail among some of the northern woodsmen—especially the hunters—is that the "northern lights," as the Aurora Borealis is called by the woodsmen, always predict high winds. "No huntin' to-morrow," "Jim," the guide, would say to the writer as he gazed from the cabin door upward, where the wonderful display "flickered and lightened and glanced and played," nearly to the zenith, like the lights on the manes of Riley's horsemen, in his beautiful poem, "The King." And surely enough, by morning something like a small gale would be roaring through the forest, making it altogether "too noisy" for big game hunting. The present writer has witnessed this prediction and its demonstration repeatedly in the heart of the New Brunswick forest, where the game, like Joel Chandler Harris's "Bre'r Fox," seemed to "lay low," when the wind blew. The woodsmen regarded the prediction as infallible, though *why*, they couldn't say. But perhaps the deer know.

THE NEW BOOKS

Biography and Recollections

Life of Christ. By Giovanni Papini. Freely translated from the Italian by Dorothy Canfield Fisher. 416 pp.

In the original Italian edition, this work has been widely read in England as well as on the Continent of Europe. The author is a student of philosophy, a disciple of Bergson. The background of his book



GIOVANNI PAPINI

is unlike that of any other life of Christ, ancient or modern. It is not the dispassionate, analytical work of a scholar, nor does it bear the marks of credulity that are commonly associated with the conventional writings of the propagandist for the faith. It is a clear, simple, and extremely vivid narrative. The author's intense desire to make his readers see the person and character of Christ as he sees them is never concealed. He is writing for the modern world and seeking only to impress the man of to-day with the power and vigor of the personality that he depicts. With the mere apparatus of textual criticism and the details of the scriptural story as accepted by latter-day investigators, Papini has little concern. Although far from ignorant in these matters, he confines his writing to what he regards as the more fundamental and vital phases of the gospel message. He subordinates scholarship to faith.

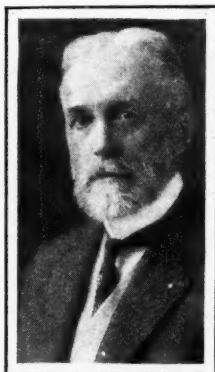
People and Politics. By Solomon Bulkley Griffin. Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 510 pp. Ill.

A career of forty years as managing editor of the *Springfield Republican* could not fail to be filled with countless interesting relationships in both public and private life. During all that time Mr. Griffin was in close touch with both the old political parties of this country as well as with every independent movement of importance. This book of recollections and observations has to do with hundreds of men in public life, some of national reputation and others only slightly known beyond the borders of Massachusetts. When Mr. Griffin writes of what he has personally known he is making a distinct contribution to the history of his times. From the days of Samuel Bowles, the elder, the *Springfield Republican* had a greater influence on public opinion than any other newspaper published outside the great cities. One of the outstanding features of

Mr. Griffin's book is the glimpse he gives us of the organization and personnel of that remarkable journal. To newspaper men this is invaluable.

A Man from Maine. By Edward W. Bok. Charles Scribner's Sons. 278 pp. Ill.

One of the world's greatest publishers, Mr. Cyrus K. Curtis, of Philadelphia, is "The Man from Maine" who is here portrayed by one of America's most successful editors, Mr. Edward W. Bok, who himself has had not a little to do with making Mr. Curtis's dreams of success in the publishing field come true. Some careers are recognized by common consent as typically American. That of Mr. Curtis will be so recognized as soon as its outlines become known to the public. Beginning as a penniless newsboy on the streets of Portland, Maine, within an amazingly short period of time Mr. Curtis attained a front rank among American publishers, and is now known the world over as the owner of perhaps the greatest publishing plant in existence. Mr. Bok shows, step by step, how this success was achieved, and to speak of it as a story of romantic adventure is no extravagant use of words.



CYRUS K. CURTIS

Barnum. By M. R. Werner. Harcourt, Brace and Company. 381 pp. Ill.

For more than half a century the name Barnum was a household word throughout the United States. There was no better-known American at home or abroad than the great showman, the Connecticut Yankee, the man who told us that we all liked to be fooled. No one, even in our own time, has better understood the arts of publicity. This new biography, which perhaps takes Barnum more seriously than he took himself, is fascinating because it deals with a career that can never be repeated. It has the pioneer interest. This generation may get from Mr. Werner's book much history that is not to be learned from text-books—how by bringing Jenny Lind to our shores Barnum gave the country its first opportunity to hear the best music that was enjoyed by Europe; how in his tours of

England and the Continent he introduced to the Old World civilization the shrewdness and business sense, along with the crudeness and vulgarity, which were then considered the typical traits of the American people. Our fathers and grandfathers got the facts of Barnum's life from the famous autobiography for which they paid 50 cents a copy at the circus, but Mr. Werner treats of other episodes in his hero's career that were hardly less romantic.

Damaged Souls. By Gamaliel Bradford. Houghton Mifflin Company. 284 pp. Ill.

Mr. Bradford has well established his reputation as a biographer. He has retold the life stories of many eminent Americans, in each case making his subject live again and impart to this present age some flavor of the times in which he actively figured.

In choosing the title of his latest book Mr. Bradford may perhaps have run the risk of offending living admirers, and especially descendants, of some of the characters whom he has rather ruthlessly grouped as "Damaged Souls." We must believe that there are many New Englanders yet alive who would shrink from placing old John Brown in that category. With Benedict Arnold, Aaron Burr and Benjamin F. Butler, he seems at least in unwonted company. Nor do we quite see why erratic and brilliant John Randolph of Roanoke should be called a "damaged soul" in distinction from other politicians of his day and generation. If P. T. Barnum rightly belongs in such a classification, his broad geniality must have covered a multitude of sins. Yet it must be said for Mr. Bradford that he emphasizes and enlarges upon the attractive human traits of all these men, and in more than one instance the good outweighs the bad in his presentation.

National and International Viewpoints

League or War? By Irving Fisher. Harper & Brothers. 268 pp.

The recent visit of Sir Robert Cecil and the addresses which he made in many of our cities have set thousands of Americans to thinking anew of the reasons for and against our participation in the League of Nations. Professor Fisher has from the beginning been an advocate of America's entrance into the League; but in this book he sets forth the arguments afresh, reviewing the developments in Europe since the Armistice, and presenting the international situation as it appears to-day. Unlike some League advocates, Professor Fisher is a believer in a strong arm for the League, and he would have an organization able to enforce its commands by physical force as well as moral suasion. Besides showing why the League is needed to prevent a recurrence of wars, this book gives an admirable résumé of the things already accomplished by the existing League, notwithstanding its many serious handicaps.

As We See It. By René Viviani. Harper & Brothers. 314 pp.

Viviani was war Premier of France and visited this country in the spring of 1917 as one of the members of the French Commission, headed by Marshal Joffre. Among French statesmen he is noted for the vigor and eloquence of his oratorical appeals. The present book is very largely a re-survey of the beginnings of the Great War, made with a view to placing due responsibility on Germany and her Emperor. Although some new material is presented, the general course of the argument is practically the same as what has been given before in French official documents.

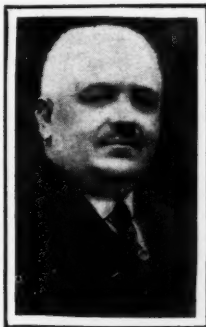
The Genoa Conference. By J. Saxon Mills. E. P. Dutton and Company. 436 pp. Ill.

This is the first authentic and complete record of the Conference at Genoa last year to be printed in the English language. The author is an enthusiastic supporter of the position taken in that conference by the British delegation.

Autocracy and Revolution in Russia. By Baron Sergius A. Korff. Macmillan. 161 pp.

The six lectures which make up this little book were delivered by Baron Korff at Northwestern University on the Harris Foundation. They deal particularly with the revolution of March, 1917.

The Decadence of Europe. By Francesco Nitti. Translated by F. Brittain. Henry Holt and Company. 302 pp.



FRANCESCO NITTI

It will be remembered that as Premier of Italy Signor Nitti took part in the conferences of the Allies from June, 1919, to June, 1920. He therefore has personal knowledge of the events immediately following the signing of the Treaty of Versailles. A large part of his present book is devoted to an unsparing criticism of that Treaty, which he says must be revised if a bankrupt Europe is to be saved. Signor Nitti believes that France is making a terrible mistake. He calls upon Great Britain and the United States to intervene for the reestablishment of European peace. He wishes especially to interest America.

Understanding Italy. By Clayton Sedgwick Cooper. The Century Company. 306 pp. Ill.

The author describes the human and material resources of the new Italy, her industrial rejuvenation, her shipping and port development and her foreign trade. As to modern Italian politics, Mr. Cooper, like most recent observers from America and England, is greatly impressed by the possibilities of Fascismo, the new Italian national movement, and its great leader, Benito Mussolini.

The Social Revolution in Mexico. By Edward Alsworth Ross. The Century Company. 176 pp.

Professor Ross is a trained observer of social movements. From his study of Russia's recent history he had come to the conclusion that social revolutions do not pay. But after eleven weeks spent in Mexico he became convinced that there at least was an exception to the general rule. He finds that the

economic condition of the Mexican workingman is improving very slowly after nine years of civil war, but that there is a new spirit in the hearts of the masses. Mexico, impoverished as she is, is now for the first time grasping the ideals of popular freedom. In this little book Professor Ross considers the "sickness," the land and the people, the current problems of politics, land reform, the labor movement, the church, and education.

American Topics

These United States: a Symposium. Edited by Ernest Gruening. Boni and Liveright. First Series. 388 pp.

In the first series under this title twenty-seven of our States are dealt with, each by a different writer, who in most cases is a native or long time resident of the Commonwealth which he treats. There is no uniformity of method. Each writer follows his own bent, and expresses his individuality without let or hindrance. Each writer, in dealing with his particular State, emphasizes such facts as seem to him important, while the writer treating of a neighbor State may wholly ignore the corresponding statistical data. The result is therefore not an ideal reference book, but there is some compensation for the loss in the enhanced variety and divergent viewpoints presented.

The Red Man in the United States: an Intimate Study of the Social, Economic and Religious Life of the American Indian. Made under the Direction of G. E. E. Lindquist. With a foreword by Hon. Charles H. Burke. George H. Doran Company. 461 pp. Ill.

Even the Indian, the only truly "native" American, has not escaped our modern passion for "surveys." It is not to be gainsaid that the time had come when we needed to be told explicitly and accurately the condition of the Red Man within our borders. Information of this kind has heretofore

been buried in Government documents or in the reports of philanthropic societies. Such knowledge as the man in the street has had of the American Indian has been fragmentary and generally incomplete. Out of a beginning, made several years ago by the Interchurch World Movement, has grown a broadly conceived and thorough inquiry into the social, economic and religious life of the Indian as he exists to-day. The results of this investigation have been compressed into a book of convenient size for which Hon. Charles H. Burke, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, writes a foreword. One may learn from this volume how far the Indian has advanced in adjusting himself to modern conditions. There are many excellent illustrations and maps.

Crucibles of Crime. By Joseph F. Fishman. Cosmopolis Press. 299 pp.

In giving this account of shocking conditions in American jails Mr. Fishman is only telling what he has personally seen and known, while acting as inspector of prisons for the United States Government and also as an independent prison investigator for State and municipal governments. The title phrase, "Crucibles of Crime," is by no means a fanciful one. These words literally describe hundreds of our jails as they exist to-day. It is unpleasant reading, and we do not like to think that such things can go on in this country, but until the great public is roused by a knowledge of the facts we cannot hope for any general improvement. Such books as this are necessary and indeed essential to any real reform.

Other Timely Discussions

Human Efforts and Human Wants. By Logan G. McPherson. Harcourt, Brace & Company. 318 pp.

A mature student of problems in economics attempts in this book to interpret economic activity in relation to human life. In other words, he has tried to humanize the "dismal science" as it was once called. His book is made up of more than fifty brief chapters, grouped under the general heads of "Production, Buying and Selling," "The Significance and Service of the Dollar" and "The Significance of Money and the Banker." It is a readable and interesting discussion of fundamental matters.

The Reds Bring Reaction. By W. J. Ghent. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 113 pp.

The author of this book was himself, not many

years ago, one of the leaders of the American Socialist Party. He still believes in the ultimate socialization of society, and his quarrel is with the extremists—the Bolsheviks and Communists, whom he relentlessly attacks.

Highways and Highway Transportation. By George R. Chatburn. T. Y. Crowell Co. 472 pp. Ill.

This is a book demanded by the new and complex problems of road construction that have come with the motor truck and pleasure car. We have had to build thousands upon thousands of miles of new highway, wholly different in method of construction from anything of which our fathers had dreamed. We have here a practical manual by an authority on highway engineering, containing valuable suggestions to motorists.

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